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AFRICAN EDUCATION

A STUDY OF
EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE
IN BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA

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FOREWORD

By the Secretary of State for the Colonies

Two years ago the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office jointly sponsored a study of educational policy in practice in British Tropical Africa. You will read in the Preface how this project took shape and led to the Conference at Cambridge in September 1952. I thank the Nuffield Foundation for the material assistance which they provided by financing the Binns and Jeffery Missions and this record, and I welcome this fresh example of their interest in Colonial affairs.

One of the objects of this book is to put on record so that we can all read it the intensive work which was carried out at Cambridge. We were indeed fortunate to secure for the Chairmanship of the Conference the services of Sir Philip Morris. The distinguished contribution which he made undoubtedly ensured the success of the Conference and a great debt is owed to him.

You will find that the ideas in the two Reports and in the record of the Conference are put forward with humility and in the full realization of the great diversity of the African territories. The problem as posed in this book is a challenge and a stimulus to action. Already much has been achieved in African education against time and difficulties. I believe that in many ways this document will point the way to new advances. I therefore warmly commend it to all who have the interests of African education at heart and especially to those who are in the service of education in that Continent.

OLIVER LYTTTELTON

PREFACE

By the Chairman of the Conference

THERE have been previous conferences on African affairs in Cambridge, and all have found the hospitality of the University conducive to their deliberations. In this respect the Conference on African Education from 8 September to 20 September 1952 was no exception. In other respects it was a break with the past. On previous occasions these conferences collected together in Cambridge officials working in African territories, and these officials were those who were on leave in this country at the time. Representatives of other Governments than the Government in the United Kingdom, who were interested in colonial territories in Africa, also participated.

This Conference in 1952 was different both in its composition and in the studies which led up to it. As regards its composition, there were, of course, a certain number of representatives from the Colonial Office and the United Kingdom, but the great majority of those present were specially selected, and for the most part specially sent, representatives of colonial territories. They came in territorial teams and formed an almost complete cross-section of the educational world of British Africa. There were unofficial as well as official members, Africans and Europeans, men and women, Christians and Muslims. The Conference was presided over by an independent Chairman, and it is my privilege, as the Chairman, to contribute a preface to this published record. I propose, in doing so, to confine myself almost entirely to things that I said, at one time or another, during the Conference.

Much change has taken place in recent years both in Africa and in the world at large, and much change is still in store. This Conference was the first occasion for twenty-five years when the whole groundwork of education in colonial territories could be passed under review by those who, having most to do with it and having most responsibility for it, are also enthusiastic and anxious about its future. It was in 1925 that a paper entitled 'Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa' suggested a general policy for British education in Africa. The policy then outlined, though it has inevitably been modified and extended in subsequent policy documents, was based upon the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions which, whatever the future holds in store for Africa, will always be a landmark in its history.

As those who read the later pages of this book will find, the Conference at Cambridge was the culminating event in a long process. In the early years after the war the idea began to grow in many minds that educational affairs and policy in Africa needed to be carefully reviewed and, in many respects, thought out afresh. The political changes which were taking place, the increasing extent to which, as evidenced by the preparation of long-term plans and of reports on policy in a number of territories, education was becoming a movement rooted in African soil, and the urgency of some problems in the present state of world affairs, combined to suggest that the problem of reconsidering education in Africa might best be solved on novel lines. Eventually the approach favoured was that of a more intimate and less formal kind than that, for example, of a Royal Commission.

It was decided that if satisfactory arrangements could be made, small groups of experts should visit East, Central, and West African territories, and go into educational problems with those most intimately concerned with them, and, if they thought fit,

prepare reports of their deliberations which might form the basis of a conference of the kind which this Conference turned out to be. This course of action could not have been carried into effect under anything like such satisfactory circumstances, had it not been for the vision and generosity of the Nuffield Foundation. The debt to the Nuffield Foundation for financing the two missions, and also for making the publication of this volume possible, is great, and it is a debt which is recognized both by African and European alike. The purpose which the Foundation had in mind cannot be better expressed than in the words which were used in the Foundation's Seventh Annual Report: 'The purpose of the Foundation's assistance was, first, to enable the missions to be carried out without delay; and second, to ensure that, in their own minds and in the eyes of those they met and those who will consider the findings, the members of the two groups should be assured of full freedom and independence in making the review and formulating their advice.'

The two missions, the one led by Mr. A. L. Binns which visited East and Central Africa, and the other led by Dr. G. B. Jeffery which visited West Africa, had the opportunity of initiating in each territory as they visited it discussions which are fundamental to the problem of each particular territory. They collected together the fruits of discussions which they had, consisting frequently of the views of people with whom they had discussed affairs on the spot. Their reports are included *in extenso* in this volume, as indeed they should be, because they were indispensable works of reference throughout the Conference, and unmistakably supplied the framework around which everything which took place at Cambridge shaped itself.

The Conference, not being under the control of any higher authority, had, to all intents and purposes, unrestricted terms of reference. It would, however, have been difficult for a conference of this kind and of this size to select from subject-matter so wide, so varied, so detailed, so profound, and so important, the most crucial and most important issues for discussion. Therefore, five groups were arranged to deal not with different sectors of education, but rather with education seen from different vantage points, to discuss intimately and to prepare for the Conference in plenary session material into which it could get its teeth and to which it could make, by discussion and criticism, a constructive contribution. The subjects dealt with by these various groups are listed below. This group system was essential to the smooth working of the Conference, and gratitude is due to the Chairmen of the groups who, without exception, led their groups wisely and well.

All attending the Conference, including the representatives appointed by their territories, were at liberty to speak as individuals. This fact should be emphasized because inevitably in a Conference of this kind questions arise of the freedom of individual members; whether they are entitled to speak their own minds without fear or favour; and whether they are obliged to echo the voice of the organization with which they are most concerned, or of the Governments to which they belong. The Conference proceeded on the basis that each member of the Conference had the responsibility of recognizing his debt to the territory from which he came but was nevertheless free, with such explanations as might be necessary, to make the greatest contribution of which he was personally capable.

There were officials of the Colonial Office present at the Conference, and a number of them were there for the whole period. It was encouraging, indeed it might be described as inspiring, to see the way in which these officials fell into the general pattern of the Conference and took their place in it. They were in no position of authority during the

Conference, but a great debt is owed to them, and especially to the Educational Adviser for his never failing wisdom, and to the Secretary with whom, because of his charm and efficiency, it would have been a pleasure for any Chairman to co-operate.

This volume contains, in addition to a summary of the discussions at full sessions of the Conference, a short introductory section chiefly for the benefit of readers interested in educational problems in Africa but not acquainted with their history, the reports of the two groups of experts and the reports of the groups at the Conference which were made to full sessions of the Conference. The five groups into which the Conference was divided had allocated to them the following subjects:

- Group A. Responsibility and Control
- Group B. The Expansion of the Educational System
- Group C. The Teaching Profession
- Group D. Organization and Curriculum
- Group E. Education and the Adult.

Although these groups were necessarily working against time, their reports, in addition to being a valuable basis for discussion at full sessions of the Conference, have a more permanent value. Although they are, to a large extent, self-explanatory, some description of how the groups did their work is necessary for readers who were not present at the Conference. There is therefore an editorial introduction to the group material.

The general arrangements for the Conference were made on the basis that representatives of the many territories would bring their experience and knowledge to bear upon the problems with which the Conference was concerned. While at this Conference, as at so many others, the informal life of the Conference was of great value, and while the hospitality given by the University, by King's College, and by Her Majesty's Government added greatly to the development of a strong Conference spirit, the vital work of the Conference took place in meetings of groups and in meetings of the whole Conference. There was not either the time or the opportunity for many formal lectures, but the Conference was fortunate in having three lectures from distinguished experts on problems which were closely relevant to its deliberations.

Professor Margaret Read placed the movement in African education in a world setting and reminded the members of the Conference that African education has a significance wider than those in Africa always realize.

Professor Bigelow, in talking of the strategy of educational progress, stressed that all who are involved in an educational problem must be brought to share in the enterprise of solving it, and their participation must be early, regular, and continuous.

Sir John Maud, conscious of the rapid political changes which are taking place in Africa, told us how England had learned to set the professional aspect of education beyond the strife of party politics. He described the relationship which has been established between politicians and civil servants.

The purpose of the Conference was not to make policy which should thereafter be imposed upon the territories which were participating, or to fix some common pattern of education on a considerable proportion of a vast continent. Thus it was not part of the business of the Conference to pass, unanimously or otherwise, general resolutions which frequently embarrass those who subsequently find that they voted for them, and nearly always disable and paralyse those to whom they are addressed. The object of the Conference was to place on record the best views which could be formalized and expressed, so that hereafter those who have responsibilities in the shaping of policies and in the carrying out of educational work should find in the record of this Conference

opinions and conclusions which had been refined by discussion, but which had not been pressed into uniformity. The visible outcome of the Conference is, therefore, not resolutions, but this permanent record; and this record would not have been possible had it not been for the energy and ability of Mr. W. E. F. Ward of the Colonial Office who readily accepted the invitation, given to him in a personal capacity, to undertake the onerous duties of editing the Conference papers, and thus making the publication of this volume possible.

Introduction

I. EDUCATION IN THE AFRICAN SETTING

THE problems facing the educator in Africa are very different from those in a rich and highly developed country like Britain or other countries in western Europe. Like the Middle East and large parts of Latin America and eastern Asia, tropical Africa is an under-developed region, and has the problems common to such regions.

In the first place, it is very large, and much of it is very thinly populated. The territories of British tropical Africa (excluding the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the self-governing state of Southern Rhodesia, and the independent Union of South Africa) which are not fully self-governing members of the Commonwealth¹ have a total area of over a million and three-quarter square miles, which is bigger than India and Pakistan together, and well over one-half the size of the United States. The biggest territory, Nigeria, is bigger than Texas and New Mexico together. They do not form a compact block. British West Africa consists of four separate territories, and from Bathurst in the Gambia to the shores of Lake Chad in Nigeria is over 2,000 miles, farther than from London to Istanbul. Things are more manageable in the east, where the six continental territories of British East and Central Africa form a continuous block of country which stretches for 1,500 miles from the north of Uganda to the southern end of Nyasaland, and rather more from the same point to the Victoria Falls. Nigeria has some thirty million people, roughly as many as all the other territories put together.

The peoples of these territories differ greatly. In East and Central Africa there are settled populations of Europeans and Asians as well as Africans, and the Africans themselves belong to different races and an immense variety of tribes and cultures. Some are hunters, some are settled agriculturalists, others nomadic herdsmen, while yet others combine farming and cattle-raising. Many have a diet containing abundant starch such as yam or millet or maize, and too little protein or fresh vegetables; others, such as the Masai of East Africa, live almost entirely on meat and milk. Some are Muslim, some Christian, some pagan. Some have a very loose political organization, in which the family or a small clan is the unit. Some are organized in strong kingdoms, with an autocratic or an aristocratic tradition of government. Others have a democratic form of constitution, in which each chief rules only through the advice and consent of his councillors, and is himself a councillor of the chief above him. In some parts of Africa the people live in compact villages, in others they live in tiny family settlements with hardly any natural centres at all—a special problem for those planning the location of schools or community centres of any kind.

¹ These territories are fourteen in number: Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Nigeria in West Africa; Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar in East Africa; Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Central Africa; the three High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland in the south; and the outlying territory of Somaliland in the north.

Some African peoples have a strong tradition of arts and crafts, of weaving or pottery or wood-carving; others seem to have lost whatever artistic traditions they once had, though all seem to retain their music. There is a great variety of African languages; the International African Institute has counted nearly 400 languages in British tropical Africa. Literacy materials are already available in some forty languages, and nearly a quarter of the total number are used in education to some extent.

Amid all this variety, what have the peoples of British tropical Africa in common? Their countries are economically under-developed. Their wealth consists not in manufacturing industry but in the cocoa, coffee, tin, or copper which they produce for world markets. They are under British rule and in touch with Western civilization, and all of them are aspiring to self-government, which it is the declared object of British official colonial policy that they should attain.

Before they can attain self-government they must overcome certain difficulties. West Africa is a richer region than East and Central Africa; it has no settled European or Asian community, and has a long connexion with Europe. Here education and commerce have produced a relatively large class of African professional and business men. It has thus been possible to harness the force of nationalism to the development of a political democracy, and political progress in West Africa in recent years has gone fast and far. In East and Central Africa, on the other hand, there is not one nationalism only, but three; and the tensions between the three races must be resolved into constructive partnership, and a common nationhood developed in which Africans, Asians, and Europeans can gladly share. East and Central Africa are younger and poorer than West Africa, and have not yet been able to produce such large numbers of educated and responsible African citizens; and without them the African community is not yet able to play its full part in political development. All the African territories need African statesmen, administrators, and technicians of all kinds if self-government is to be a reality. The problem of the educator is to design and provide a system of education which will enable the emergent peoples of Africa to take their full place in the modern world.

From the professional point of view, the educator's problem is a difficult one. The contact of cultures always causes tensions, and the tensions are increased when one culture is politically dominant over the other. The European educator has hitherto had the sole responsibility for planning, and he has tried to design an educational system which will help his African pupils to achieve in themselves a harmony between European culture and their own.

The educator's professional difficulties are intensified by political and economic difficulties. British rule in Africa is still new. On the West Coast a few towns have been in British hands since the days of the slave-trade, but it was

Something like a hundred African languages have been put to educational use, and there is a steady output of textbooks specially prepared for African needs, both in English and in about forty African languages. Great efforts are made to train African teachers, both men and women, though they are not nearly yet adequate in numbers or in qualifications. In most territories the education of women and girls lags behind that of men and boys; we have not yet solved the problem of providing an education which will attract girls in sufficient numbers and will give them the training which they and their mothers think they need.

Thus based on the principles set forth in 1925 and subsequently extended, African education went forward, through the efforts of Governments and of voluntary agencies, of teachers and administrators, of Africans and Europeans, of men and women: limited in staffing, buildings, and equipment by the financial resources available. During the Second World War several new steps were taken.

The first was the publication in 1944 of the report on *Mass Education in African Society*. This report was prepared by a group of members of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee. The gist of it was that to educate school children in the ideas and techniques of the Western world would lead to disaster if it resulted in setting a gulf between them and the African society of which they were members. The education of the school child must be accompanied by education designed to help the whole community towards better living. Initiative must be aroused among local leaders, who would help their people to spread new ideas. This was a development of an idea present in the memoranda of 1925 and 1935. Similar ideas were being put into action in China and elsewhere; and when Unesco came into being two years later, it invented the term *fundamental education*, and under this new name began to push the new conception of mass education or community development with all its might.

At the same time another one of the 1925 aspirations was reaching fulfilment. The memorandum had spoken of 'Institutions which may hereafter reach university rank'. Among the educational institutions of British tropical Africa there were already some which were aspiring to university rank. Shortly before the Second World War, a commission recommended that East Africa's need for higher education should be met by the development of Makerere College into a university college for East Africa. In other parts of the Commonwealth also, notably in Malaya and in the West Indies, the time seemed ripe for the establishment of university colleges. In 1943 the Government appointed a Royal Commission (the Asquith Commission) on Higher Education in the Colonies, to advise it on how to develop universities in the Colonies, and how to secure for colonial universities and university colleges the co-operation of universities in the United Kingdom. This commission was assisted by another commission (the Elliot Commission) to study the special problems of university development in West Africa. As far as Africa is concerned, the work of these commissions has so far resulted in the establishment of the university colleges of the Gold Coast, Ibadan, and East Africa. The University of London admitted the three new university colleges into a special relationship, by which the staff in Africa and the staff in London collaborated in framing syllabuses and in conducting examinations. The African university col-

leges look for help and guidance to a professional body called the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, which includes representatives of all the United Kingdom universities, and has but one official nominee, the Secretary of State's educational adviser.

Still more recently, steps have been taken to develop higher technical education. Colleges have been established for this purpose in different parts of Africa, and a new advisory body, similar in status to the Inter-University Council, has been set up to advise on their problems. The new colleges are not intended to be purely vocational. Although they will take over some of the work hitherto done by departmental training establishments, such as the training of teachers and pharmacists, and although they will do a great deal of engineering and other technology, they will be educational institutions parallel to the university colleges.

University and higher technical colleges are expensive, and it would have been quite beyond the unaided resources of the Colonial Governments in Africa to establish them. They became possible through the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and more particularly of 1945. By these Acts Parliament provided a sum of £120 million from United Kingdom funds, to be used to provide Colonial Governments in Africa and elsewhere with the capital which they needed to develop their economic resources and their social services. Six million pounds were set aside from this sum to build and equip university colleges, and a further £1½ million for the new higher technical colleges. These sums were, of course, largely supplemented by local funds.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts stimulated not merely higher education but education in general. During and after the Second World War all the Colonial Governments produced development plans, which received assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. Some African Governments had prospered under the war-time demand for their countries' products; and this increase in their prosperity coincided with a large increase in the popular demand for education. Over large stretches of Africa the time is past when missionaries and administrators offered education to an indifferent people. Now parents demand far more schools than the Governments can supply. For the first time, some African Governments after the Second World War found themselves able to contemplate universal primary education as a goal which they might hope to attain within a reasonable time. Under their development plans they provided from their own revenues more schools, more training colleges for teachers, more adult or fundamental education, more grants to schools run by voluntary agencies. £8½ million were granted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts to assist the Governments in Africa and in other colonial territories in developing their primary and secondary education.

Progress has been especially rapid in West Africa. The Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1920-1 found 336 Government and assisted primary schools in Nigeria; the 212 schools in the south contained 30,000 pupils, and in the north there were 124 small schools, whose enrolment the commission did not estimate. Today, Nigeria has some 9,000 schools, with 1,000,000 children attending them. The commission found about 35,000 children attending

school in the Gold Coast; today the Gold Coast has about 300,000. In West Africa, educational and political progress went together. Both in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria, constitutions have come into force in which the control of educational policy is in the hands of African Ministers.

By 1952 education, like many other aspects of African life, was in a condition of headlong change and development. Some 2,750 African students (many of them on scholarships provided from public funds) were studying in the universities and other higher training establishments in the United Kingdom, and some hundreds more were studying in the United States and Canada; while 950 were studying at the young university colleges in Africa. There were about 68,000 children attending secondary schools in Africa, and about 2½ million attending Government or grant-aided primary schools. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria (to use the language of the 1925 memorandum) the Controlling Power had handed over its responsibility

'as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population' to the elected representatives of the African peoples.

Were the principles of 1925 and 1935 still valid, and did they need restating? Was African education developing on the right lines, and if not, could it be guided on to the right lines? Educators in Africa were constantly under criticism. They were criticized for providing too superficial an education, and for providing it to too few children; for being too much bound by external examinations; for being too bookish and unpractical; for producing too many clerks and too few farmers, artisans, technicians, and reliable administrators; and for utterly failing to stop the drift to the towns, the decay of agriculture, the break-up of tribal society, and the loosening of moral standards. How far were the criticisms justified? They came from different quarters, and the critics did not always agree with each other. But was this anything more than a debating point? Had the educator a real reply? By 1952 it was felt that these questions must be answered.

3. THE ORIGINS OF THE STUDY

THE main criticisms of African education were two. One was that there was too little education: too few children had a chance of any schooling at all, and of those few, too small a proportion carried their schooling to the stage at which it would be really useful to them. The other criticism was that the education was effective in breaking-up the old African life, but not in adapting its pupils to the conditions of the new. It was bookish, divorced from reality, and gave its pupils a distaste for manual work and for rural life. The educator could reply that these results were not mainly due to the schools, but to all the other influences to which young people in Africa were subjected. But this reply carried conviction to nobody but his professional colleagues. And the educator himself felt ill at ease: 'The good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do.' As Sir Christopher Cox, the Secretary of State's educational adviser, put it: 'Our consciences as educators cannot be clear as long as there is so big a gap between the performance in so high a proportion of schools and the principles which all Colonial educators who know their job share with educators in the United Kingdom.'

By 1950 there was a growing feeling that the time was ripe for an authoritative study of educational problems in Africa. There was general agreement that the state of the schools, and of too many of the pupils who had passed through them, left much to be desired. But there was disagreement on the causes of the trouble. Some said that there ought to be more schools, and that the schools should enable more Africans to qualify for responsible posts in industry and commerce, and in the civil service. Others said that before multiplying schools further, it was important to improve the existing schools, so that they could give their pupils a sounder education, and could do something to stop the decay of agriculture, the drift to the towns, and the insistence on clerical employment. Others again said that the available resources did not permit of more and better schools; and that the desire for high wages, better living conditions, and the cultural and other

amenities of town life would always exert a stronger pull towards the town than any pull which the schools could exert towards the country: it was so in England, and it would be so in Africa.

An authoritative study was thus needed to settle the true causes of evils which were plain to all, and to help those intimately concerned with African education, whether as parents, as teachers, or as administrators, to make the changes in their thinking and in their policy which would be needed to remedy the evils. What form should such a study take?

One suggestion was the appointment of a Royal Commission to visit the African territories and report. Another was the issue of another memorandum from the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee, which had already produced a number of papers from 1925 to 1948. The Advisory Committee gave preliminary consideration to the task of attempting a restatement of educational policy, and by February 1950 it had reached the stage of having before it a first tentative draft for discussion.

Both these methods, however, were open to the objection that people who had spent their working lives in African education would appear to be receiving authoritative advice from people who, whether visiting commissioners or London committee members, would have a less intimate knowledge of African problems than they themselves had. The success of any study would depend on how far its recommendations were acceptable to those who had to carry them out; and if they were to be acceptable, they must be made in the closest possible consultation with the parents, teachers, and administrators who would have this responsibility. The problem was: how to provide educators in Africa, scattered, isolated, and overburdened with routine as they were, with an opportunity for re-thinking their problems together: how to assist them with professional advice which they would respect and welcome: how to assure the critics of education, both African and European, that their criticisms had been taken fully into

account, and that the best thing for them now to do was to apply the remedies proposed. All these three requirements must be met.

The course decided upon was to appoint two groups of visitors, one to visit West Africa and the other East and Central Africa. They would be known as study groups, and would be provided with a working paper, copies of which would be circulated in Africa before their arrival, so that those in Africa with whom they discussed education would know what agenda had been suggested to them. During their visit the study groups would discuss with anyone who had views on education; and on their return to England, a conference would be held, in which representatives of the African territories would discuss African education in the light of their talks with the two study groups. This method was adopted, says the working paper, 'to ensure that the wisdom and experience of those in the field are freely drawn upon in any conclusions which may be reached, and that the processes in which they have participated may have the maximum chance of being relevant and fertile'. The whole operation was to be called a Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.

There were certain limitations placed on the field of study. It was limited in the first place to the education of Africans; the education of Asian and European pupils in East and Central Africa was omitted because its problems were different, and far less intractable. Higher education was omitted, because the ground had been covered by the Asquith and Elliot reports, and the Inter-University Council exercised a constant review of university policy in Africa.

There was another limitation which aroused more comment. Technical education, which was relatively backward in Africa, had recently been the subject of much concern, both among Africans and among Europeans. The Secretary of State's adviser on technical education, Dr. Harlow, had visited all the African territories within the previous two or three years, and in consultation with him several of the African Governments had drawn up extensive plans for developing technical education of all grades. The two study groups were therefore not expected to pay special attention to technical education, obvious though the need for it might appear. The working paper mentions technical education in connexion with different types of secondary schools, and with the needs of industry; but it does not mention the development of higher technical education, this matter not only having been covered by Dr. Harlow's reports, but being the object of continual study by the newly formed Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology.

The scheme thus outlined was laid before the Governors of the African territories, and before the Advisory Com-

mittee on Education in the Colonies. It was stressed that the launching of the Study should not hold up development schemes which were already being carried out.

By the beginning of 1951 the idea of the Study had been approved, and progress had been made in preparing the working paper. This paper was drafted in the Colonial Office, and was discussed in detail by a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. The document was finally approved by the main committee in April 1951. The working paper describes itself as having

been prepared and sent out in advance to assist the consultations in the field. It has been written for critical and informed readers, and therefore includes the minimum of background descriptive material. It is not a statement of existing policy; still less is it the outline of a report. In essence it is a suggested agenda-paper for the groups and indeed for all who will be associated with the study, and one that does not try to be complete. Its purpose is to focus on a number of questions which appear to need further thought, and it is hoped that all who read it will study it in that light and will take it as a starting-point for thinking over afresh the whole range of problems, so that the processes of local consultations will be as fruitful as possible.

The working paper is divided into six sections: (1) the relationship of the curriculum to the needs of society; (2) the amount of primary and secondary education; (3) the supply and training of teachers and the establishment of arrangements for the study of content and method; (4) the incidence of responsibility for costs and administration; (5) the relationship between Government and voluntary agencies; (6) educational finance and its relationship to economic development.

As is stated in the foreword to this record, the Study was jointly sponsored, and largely financed, by the Nuffield Foundation.

The two study groups were appointed in March 1951, and spent the last six months of the year in visiting the African territories. The East and Central African group consisted of Mr. A. L. Binns (chairman) (Chief Education Officer for the Lancashire County Council), Professor B. A. Fletcher (Director of the Bristol University Institute of Education), and Miss F. H. Gwilliam (Assistant Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State). The West African group consisted of Dr. G. B. Jeffery (chairman) (Director of the London University Institute of Education), Mr. F. T. Arnold (H.M. Staff Inspector for Secondary Schools), Dr. Josephine Macalister Brew (Education Adviser to the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs), and Mr. E. W. Woodhead (County Education Officer for the Kent County Council). The groups returned to England at the end of 1951 and the beginning of 1952, and presented reports. The text of their two reports follows.

Report of the West Africa Study Group

A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA

I. EDUCATION IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY

1. EDUCATIONAL policy is under criticism and review in each of the territories of British West Africa. There is a growing demand from Africans, more insistent in some territories than in others, for improved and extended provision for education. Old development plans are being revised. Everywhere limitations of finance and personnel impose the necessity to strike a balance between the rate of expansion and the quality of the provision made. Those who have been concerned to maintain quality are criticized because progress has been slow. Those who have endeavoured to keep pace with the growing demand are criticized because standards have been relaxed. Decisions are in the course of being taken which will affect the development of education in West Africa, and therefore the development of West Africa itself, for many years to come.

2. The interest in education is very widespread and is by no means confined to the teaching profession and the educational service. Educational questions are discussed everywhere and, indeed, in some parts education takes the foremost place in political policy and propaganda. It is not surprising that there should be a good deal of confusion of thought, much hankering after contradictory aims, and impatience under inescapable limitations of resources.

3. The study of education in different countries usually brings a double experience to those who have the privilege of making it. On the one hand, they are impressed by the similarity between the problems which face one country in the present and those which faced another country at some recent or remote stage in its educational history. They are tempted to believe that education has no new problems but only the old problems which each country must face in turn, and solve in relation to its circumstances and resources. On the other hand, they meet differences of racial temperament and social structure that go so deep as to suggest that no valid generalizations are possible, and that each country must face its problems as it comes to them and work out their solutions afresh without regard to what has been achieved in other countries in which the problems have been met in circumstances so different as to make them different problems requiring different solutions.

4. Of course neither of these views in its extreme form is valid. The problems of education on the West Coast, however similar they may appear to be to the problems which have arisen within the last hundred years in England, are problems which have to be solved within the circumstances of West Africa. It would be folly to assume that methods, systems of organization and administration, or standards of attainment which have proved satisfactory in England will for that reason be equally satisfactory in the different and varied circumstances of the West Coast.

On the other hand, our educational experience in England must have been superficial in the extreme if it has led to nothing that is capable of generalization to cover a wider field of experience.

5. It is, indeed, the primary purpose of the study of education to discover the principles which underlie the multiplicity of its forms. Such principles will emerge from reflection upon experience of education as it operates in particular circumstances aided by the ability to distinguish between what is accidental to the particular circumstances and what is intrinsic in the educational process, and must find its appropriate expression in whatever circumstances education is attempted. The formulation of principles must at any stage be tentative. They are validated to the extent that they are proved in experience to be applicable to widely different circumstances and especially to the circumstances of different countries and peoples. Once principles are discovered and validated they will be universal in their applicability, though their application will exhibit a variety as great as the variety of the circumstances in which they have to be applied.

6. The visitor to West Africa whose experience of education has been mainly in English-speaking countries must be prepared to discover that something which he has hitherto regarded as a principle is not a principle at all but merely a partially generalized description of forms inadequate to cover the circumstances of West Africa. Even so, the visit will not have been wasted if it leads him one step farther in his search for good principles which can be made the guide for right action.

7. Above all, it must be recognized that the function and the opportunity of the visiting educationist are limited. Education on the coast is so intimately interwoven with the life of the people and with their aspirations for their future development that its problems are beyond any question African problems which cannot rightly and properly be solved except by Africans. The lines of solution may emerge partly from African experience and partly from expedients of proved value in England or in some other country. But from whatever source the inspiration and the ideas may come, the solution must be an African solution, freely made by Africans. No other conclusion would be consistent with any conception of the status of the West African peoples held in any responsible quarter, either African or British. Nevertheless, the European who is prepared in West Africa to face African problems side by side with Africans may have a part. The principal part lies with the expatriate members of missions and of the educational service, and particularly with those who have had long experience on the Coast. In this regard the West Coast has been well served. The great majority of education officers are sustained in their work by a sincere regard and

respect for the African people. They have given of their time and energy and of themselves more than could have been demanded of them on the most generous conception of duty, and they have given under a sense of service to the African peoples which is often, but not always, fully recognized by Africans. No future African historian of the West Coast, writing after achievements which now can be only dimly foreseen, can justly fail to pay tribute to the services of British missionaries and officials to African education in a period which may now be drawing towards its close.

8. The part of the occasional visitor is a humbler one. He cannot have the detailed knowledge or the quick sensitivity to African needs which his compatriots have gained only in many years. He may have a wider experience or an experience of a different sort from which suggestions may emerge the validity of which can be judged only by those who have a greater knowledge of the Coast, and more particularly by Africans themselves. His particular contribution may well be to call attention to African practice and policy in relation to educational principle, and thereby to test practice, policy, and principle alike.

9. It would be wrong to suggest that the effort to base educational practice and policy in West Africa on sound principles is new. It has, indeed, been the constant effort over many years of those Africans and Europeans who have laboured to promote education on the West Coast. It may, nevertheless, be of value at this critical time to attempt a restatement of the ideals which have been the well-springs of action in the past, and the value may not be least to those who have to live and work amid practical problems of burning urgency.

10. The principle that can cover the problems of the education of a boy in London and a girl in Navrongo must run fairly deep. The problems are, however, not utterly dissimilar, and each has its roots in the fundamental circumstances of human life; that men grow old and die; and that infants are helpless. At every time and at every place a new generation is growing up in the midst of the old which, in a few years, it must replace. The infant is conceived and born, faces the perils of early infancy, develops partly by his own inherent powers of growth, partly by the experience of the impact of his external world, and partly under the guidance of his mother and her kin. Later he is taught the knowledge and the skills necessary for adult life among his people and, more particularly, those that are concerned with the due provision of food and the other necessities of life. He is instructed in the rules of right conduct and in his duties to others. He is told the story of his people and taught to reverence the things that they hold in high regard. He may be taught to endure hardship and pain without complaint. An important stage is reached when the young person has attained maturity and is recognized by his own people as an adult and fully equipped member of their community. It is an important stage, but it is not the end. Through many years experience and wisdom can be gained, and there are always new things to learn which can enrich the personal life and give greater opportunities for service to the community.

11. This sort of thing is going on with infinite variety of form wherever men and women are to be found. It is the fundamental activity which we call education. It is many-sided and complex, for it involves every aspect of the personal life of the individual and of his place in the com-

munity to which he belongs. Yet there is an essential unity in the process for its results emerge in the life-histories of individual persons.

12. From this point of view education is far older than educational systems. Education has been going on since men and women lived in the simplest forms of society, and perhaps even before that. It begins to take formal shape when there is a corporate realization of the importance of education for sustaining and developing the life of the people, and parents and the community itself begin to devote conscious efforts to secure the best training for their young people.

13. Education is, in an important aspect, an instrument of stability. It is the effort, conscious or unconscious, of a people to perpetuate itself. Its purpose is to enable the child in due course to step into the shoes of his parent. If the life of the community is to be carried on, the younger generation must know the things and learn to do the things that are known and done by the older generation. As social organization develops and becomes more complex, there need not be the same simple and direct linkage between the accomplishment of the child and his parents, for they may well exercise different though equally necessary functions in the social structure. But, however far this complication of social structure may proceed, it can never reach the point of obliterating or even of diminishing the importance of this fundamental aspect of education. The most highly complex and differentiated society cannot survive unless it trains its children in approximately the right numbers and proportions to do the things that are necessary to secure its survival.

14. Fuller reference is made in a later section of this report to an important application of this principle. Whatever developments may lie ahead in industry, mining, and the farming of export crops, it must remain true for any foreseeable distance into the future that West Africa must grow its own food or starve. If the education of children on the Coast fails to produce a due proportion who will work for the production of food, it will be bad education no matter what it may achieve in other directions, for it will violate this fundamental principle. And this remains true though another great principle be freely acknowledged; that man shall not live by bread alone.

15. But education is not only an instrument of stability; it is an instrument of change. The germ from which all national development grows is a deep desire among the people to be other than they are. In no way is this desire more clearly put in evidence than by the efforts a people is prepared to make to train its children to fulfil the life it desires for itself as a nation. Thus, education is inseparably linked with the deepest problems of national destiny. It is seldom in the history of any people that education is seen in this way with all its implications clear and free of contradiction. He is, indeed, a great prophet who has the vision to see the destiny of his people and the wisdom to declare the things they must do if they are to fulfil that destiny. There is seldom any lack of appreciation of the implications of education as they affect the individual. The African father is often very anxious that his son should be 'educated' because he may thus become qualified to hold a clerical post in Government employment. He is not at present greatly exercised by the problems that would arise if all African fathers successfully pursued a like ambition for

their sons, though to this gentle charge he may well reply that in this respect he is not greatly different from fathers anywhere. Great and good social movements, such as those towards full employment in Britain or towards self-government on the Coast, may be pursued as ends in themselves, and good progress may be made, without any clear apprehension of all their implications for the life of the people and without facing up to the problem as to whether they can fit together with other good aspirations to provide a way of life which is at once stable and capable of further development.

16. West Africa at this time deserves the sympathy and support of all those who, by reason of their knowledge of her people and their faith in her future, wish her well. The rapidity of change must be bewildering to all Africans, and especially to those who sincerely desire to serve their fellow countrymen by leadership. It is a time when there will inevitably be much groping in the dark and many fruitless efforts before the right way is discovered. It is a time when there will be many prophets, and it will not be always easy to distinguish between the true and the false. But from the labour of these times there will emerge new hopes for the peoples of the West Coast—new political institutions, new forms of social structure, new hopes for improved standards of life for the people and for enlarged opportunities for the exercise of personal freedom and enjoyment. The realization of each and every one of these hopes in the future will depend upon what Africans are prepared to do now to educate their children to make these hopes capable of fulfilment.

17. So far, education has been thought of as the care given by a people to the preparation of its rising generation to carry on its life and to progress in the direction it desires. This is, indeed, an aspect of education which is of the highest importance, but it has at least one other aspect. The relation of parent to child or of adult to juvenile is but an example of a senior-junior relation with which, in great variety of form, every social structure is shot through and through. In many of its forms this relation is fluid and constantly changing. The one who is the junior in one respect may be the senior in another, and the teacher of one moment may well become the learner of the next. Every man, whatever his age, might be better prepared than he is for the realization of the possibilities of the future, and he may find assistance in this regard from his contemporaries or juniors in age. Thus, education in its widest sense is the complex of actions and reactions between persons by which a nation prepares itself for its future by the dissemination of knowledge and skills and valid ideas of human dignity and fellowship. It is, indeed, the instrument for the development of a democratic way of life.

18. This wider conception of education is of special importance to West Africa at the present stage of its development. That stage must necessarily involve a tension between those who value things in the African past which they fear may be lost and those who are anxious for rapid development. A tension of this sort may be healthy and fruitful when it arises between different individuals, for good judgement is assisted by honest advocacy. When it arises within the mind of one individual it may be no bad matter if he has the maturity that will enable him to keep his balance. If it arises in the mind of a child it may

be cruel and disastrous in its effects. This is precisely the danger in which any people will find itself at a time of rapid development if it thinks of education for the future exclusively in terms of the education of children. The child may be torn between the old as represented by his parents and the new as represented by 'education'. This is a danger to which fuller reference is made in a later section of this report. Africa would be well advised to pass as rapidly as possible through the evolution represented in England by progress from the stage at which education was conceived as an activity directed mainly towards children to the stage marked by the 1944 Education Act, under which the duty of the Minister of Education 'shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales'.

19. Let us boldly attempt to formulate the aims of education. Perhaps the key may be found in what any good father would wish for his son: that he should grow to the full stature of a man sound in mind and body; that according to his ability he should acquire the knowledge and the skill that will enable him to live a life useful to his fellows and enjoyable to himself; that he should have high standards of conduct and be an honourable man trusted by his fellows; that he should be able and willing to take his rightful part in the affairs of his country and his people; that he should be a man of courage and sound judgement, not too easily deflected by the emotions of the moment; that he should be a man at peace within himself, rightly discerning his duty to himself, his fellows, and his God. There is a coherence among these aims whereby no one can be neglected without thereby creating an impediment to the others. The hopes of a father for his son are easily translated into those of a mother for her son or daughter or into those of any good citizen for himself and for his fellows no matter what their age or station in life.

20. These are no empty phrases. However imperfectly they may be expressed they correspond to things which all who are deeply concerned with education in England feel about the meaning and purpose of our work. Do they evoke an equivalent response in the minds of our African friends, be they Muslims, Christians, or pagans, or whether they have the rural life of the Gambia River or the urban life of Lagos? If, as we believe, they do, we have a sound basis on which we can together face the problems of education on the West Coast.

21. The teacher or education officer may protest that these are fine words with which it is easy to agree but they do not help him very much in the practical decisions he has to take in the course of his day-to-day work. He would be partly right and partly wrong. These aims are far too general in their terms to permit their simple and direct application to particular circumstances and situations. Any attempt to do so would often lead to contradiction. Principles are not axioms from which universal rules of conduct can be deduced. In any business as intimately concerned with human personality as education must be, there are no universal rules of conduct. The educationist is no worker of miracles. He has to work within particular circumstances which, even when he has done his best to modify them, will make it impossible for him to do many of the things he would desire to do. Yet he need not be a mere automaton or opportunist. If he will keep good educational aims clearly before him and continually strive to do whatever

is possible and best calculated to realize these aims, he will be doing what is educationally right.

22. This leads to the consideration of a group of problems that arise throughout the whole field of education in Africa or, indeed, anywhere. How can good standards be established, and what part can education play in promoting and maintaining them? We have seen diseased and ill-nourished children, ignorant and uninspiring teachers, shoddy workmanship, petty tyranny, and gross corruption. But we have also seen healthy and happy children, able and devoted teachers, good craftsmanship, humanity, and integrity. It is by no local or relative judgement that the one picture is good and the other bad. The supreme task in the education of the African people is to discover the means by which the bad may be transformed into the good.

23. The need for standards extends beyond the field of morals as ordinarily understood into every aspect of African life, yet it is essentially a moral need. The one who holds, whether by outward profession or by an inward and inarticulate knowing, that moral integrity, intellectual honesty, respect for persons, compassion, and courage are good in themselves and that their goodness is not contingent on circumstances of time or place—the one who holds these things firmly and discovers the way to express them in action will be a good neighbour, a good teacher, parent or citizen, and a good leader among his people.

24. There are those who hold that these fundamental human values find their origin and their meaning only in a religious faith. Certainly it is true that their recognition in Africa is mainly due to the testimony of Christian missionaries, leaders of the Muslim faith, and those rooted in the old tribal cultures. It would be a great contribution to the progress of moral education in Africa at this critical stage if those upon whom the responsibility for moral leadership rests could come more closely together, not to dispute on matters of faith and doctrine, much less to compromise on a synthetic and spineless religion, but to reach a clearer realization of what they have in common in their appreciation of the fundamental human values. It is impossible to move about among African people without discovering on every hand the evidence of the widespread recognition of these values, based for one individual, perhaps, on Christian doctrine, for another on the teaching of the Prophet, and for yet another on an interpretation of all that is best in the old tribal life. Africa is, and is likely to remain, a land of many faiths. Its moral and religious life will be strong in so far as each of these faiths is upheld in its full discipline and maintained in its historical continuity. The diversity of faiths does harm only in so far as it obscures the common vision of the good. It is just the situation in which education has often built bridges. A common concern for the upbringing of children and the uplifting of the people can bring men and women of very different traditions together in pursuit of a common aim. If leaders in all branches of African thought could come together in a united and public testimony of fundamental human values, they would make a lasting contribution to education on the West Coast.

25. Side by side with this corporate testimony, and in co-ordinate importance with it, is the example which an African can give to his fellows. A man who, in any station of life, is an upright man, fair and just in his dealings, and kindly and considerate to his neighbours, is a living

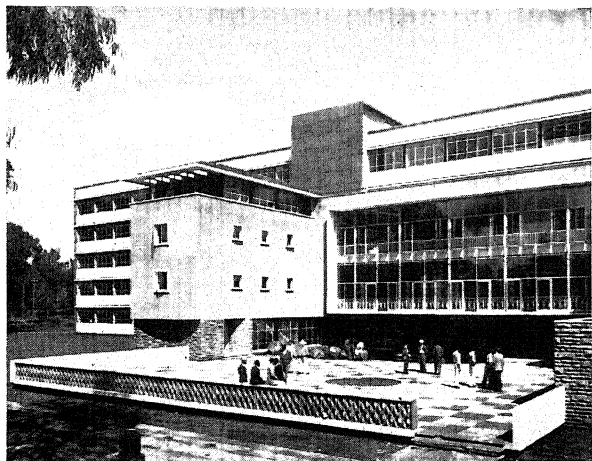
example of the good. We come to know the good less by any process of rational thinking than by acquaintance with the good. The moral progress of any people depends partly upon the vision and vigour of its prophets, but more upon the example of those men and women who, by reason of consistent and faithful lives, are judged worthy by their fellows.

26. One of the most firmly established principles of education is that there is no easy and automatic transference from theory to practice or from precept to example. A knowledge of ethics is no guarantee of good behaviour, and much unsound thinking is perpetrated by those who know the modes and figures of the syllogism. Good principles are translated into right action by men and women of character, and it is for this reason that training in character must be regarded as the most important aim of education.

27. The exercise of character involves the ability to see the variety of action that is possible in a given concrete situation, the moral sensitivity to assess the nature of the consequences of each line of action, and the will to choose that which will best subserve the good. Training of character is accordingly no easy business that can be accomplished in one step or in a short time. It is invariably preceded by a stage which might more appropriately be called training in behaviour. This usually begins with prohibitions. The edict, 'Thou shalt not', goes forth as the unreasoned command of the parent or on the unquestionable authority of the Absolute Good. Later, the training may assume a more positive aspect, and duties are asserted on a like authority. The establishment of rules of behaviour designed to cover concrete situations is an inescapable stage in education, and a stage which must persist in some form in every civilized society. If the process stopped there, however, a man might have 'a good character' in the sense that he had no crime or indiscretion recorded against him, but he would hardly be a man of character. Sooner or later he would fail to do right either because he found himself in a situation not covered by the rules, or because the sanction of the rules themselves had grown weak. It is at the stage at which an adequate foundation in good behaviour has been established that character building can begin.

28. Two important elements in the exercise of character are discernment and judgement, and these are gifts which can be developed only by facing the actual circumstances of life in particular situations. Unless the child has frequent opportunities to exercise freedom of action he will have no opportunity to learn the things that can be learnt in no other way. Character is trained in the exercise of responsibility.

29. Herein lies the greatest difficulty of the educationist. The measure of freedom and responsibility that should be given to a child in any particular situation or at any stage in his development involves the nicest judgement that the educationist is called upon to make. Give too little and development is thwarted; give too much and the result may well be anxiety, bewilderment, and cruelty. The clear unreasoned *do* and *don't* give security to the child. He may be well content to remain in that security, and the time may come when it would be wise to put him in a situation in which he has to act on his own responsibility. More healthily, he may begin to rebel against the rules and thus show his need for more liberty and perhaps more



Vile Chuo kikuu kinavyoonekana upande wa kusini

ROYAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE OF EAST AFRICA

Aliyetunga ni Alastair Matheson.

Wanafunzi wa mataifa yote husoma pamoja katika mahali pakupendeza

ROYAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE of East Africa ambacho ni chuo kikuu cha ufundi katika Afrika ya Mashariki kina mojawapo ya majengo yanayovuta macho zaidi katika mji wa Nairobi. Ujengaji wa chuo hiki ndiyo hatua kubwa ya kwanza kutukia katika East Africa kuelekea mpango wa elimu ya kusomea pamoja bila kujali mataifa.

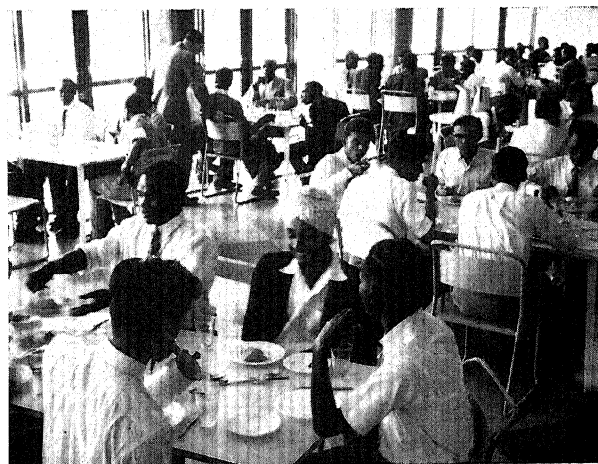
Nyumba zilizo tayari hufanya theluthi tu ya nyumba kadha zinazotazamiwa kujengwa ili kuwapatia wanafunzi

nafasi inayotosha kwa mafunzo yao. Uchaguzi wa wanafunzi wapya hutegemea nafasi iliyoko na elimu waliofikia. Elimu inayotakikana kwa sasa ni *credit* yaani kupita na sifa katika Kiingereza na masomo mengine manne yanayohusika na mambo wanayotazamia kusomea wanafunzi wanaohusika.

Jumba lenyewe liko mahali palipo wazi, nalo lina gorofa tano ambamo kuna madarasa ya kujifunzia. Kwenye



Jumba wanamoishi wanafunzi wa kiume



Wakati wa chakula cha mchana katika jumba wanamoishi wanafunzi wanaume



Vitabu Hivi Vitakupendeza

BOOKS YOU WILL WANT TO READ

Hadithi Ya Bakuria wa Tanganyika. By D. Kingdon. Macmillan Sh. 1/20.

Imejulikana ya kwamba tangu zamani sana Waafrika wamekuwa na desturi ya kusimuliana hadithi, na desturi hiyo ilihifadhi hadithi zisipate kusauhuliwa. Ila siku hizi desturi imeachwa mahali pengine pengine kwa kuwa maisha yetu yamebadilika kidogo. Kwa hiyo tunawashukuru waandishi wote wanaofanya bidii kuandika hadithi zetu ili zipigwe chapa na kuhifadhiwa kwa njia nyingine, yaani katika vitabu.

Kitabu hicho kina hadithi ya kabila moja la Tanganyika. Hadithi yenyewe ni tamu na picha ni nzuri sana.

Owaileng Kede Dokkere (Lango). East African Literature Bureau. Sh. 1/-.

One of the most popular vernacular books published by the East African Literature Bureau is a story which is not only entertaining but is also instructional: it is about three 'giants', Fire, Wind and Water which are good servants to mankind but are harmful to the land if they get out of control. The Northern Province Literature Committee of Uganda has now produced another story written for the same purpose—to instruct readers in the care of their cattle. The book is in the Lango dialect of the great Lwo group of languages. The story tells how Owaileng learned good methods of keeping cattle and how he prospered as a result of using these methods on his farm.

The Art of Basketry. By P. H. K. Wandera. Pitman.

Book I. Cane, Shrub and Creeper Work

Shs. 6/60.

Book II. Reed and Grass Work

Shs. 5/50.

These two handbooks on basketwork are by a Muganda author who has studied and practised this popular handicraft for many years. The following extract from the foreword by the

Deputy Director of Education, Uganda shows the high standard of these books:

"It gives me great pleasure to write a foreword for this most careful and detailed work, as indeed it does for all African authors who are trying to uplift their fellows by making available to them through the printed page the benefit of their researches or experience.

"Mr. Wandera's books provide evidence of many months of real hard work and careful experiment and the author is clearly actuated, not solely by the belief that it will be useful for a number of people to know how to make baskets, but also by a real love of his art and a desire to help people to see how craftsmen, by a love of their craft, do try to express their feelings and to convey their ideals of beauty."

There are many handbooks on basketwork published in other countries but these are the first actually written in East Africa. They should prove very useful to teachers and to all who are interested in using the canes, grasses, etc. of East Africa to make beautiful and useful articles from them.

(Supplied by the East African Literature Bureau)



Illustration from *Owaileng Kede Dokkere*

sehemu inayokabiliana na Government Road huonekana madarasa mnamojifunziwa mambo ya mitambo.

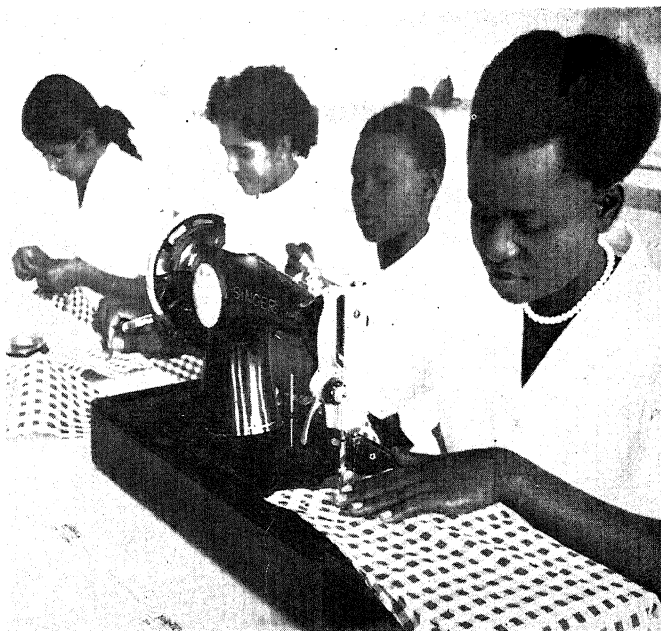
Mambo yanayosomewa katika chuo hiki ni *Engineering* yaani masomo ya ufundi wa mitambo na barabara, *Arts* yaani elimu ya mambo ya kawaida, *Science* yaani elimu ya maarifa, *Architecture* yaani masomo ya kufanya michoro ya nyumba, *Commerce* yaani masomo yanayohusika na biashara na *Domestic Science* yaani masomo ya maarifa katika mambo ya nyumbani. Masomo haya yote yanazidi kupendwa na watu na wanafunzi wanazidi kupatiwa nafasi ya kuyasomea inapowezekana.

Majengo mengine yanayopendeza kama *laboratory* yaani jumba la kujizoeza na mafunzo kama yale ya maarifa na majumba mengine ya ufundi yanakaribia kwisha, nayo yatawapatia wanafunzi nafasi zaidi ya kusoma na kujizoeza na masomo yao.

Hakuna chuo kizuri kama hiki katika Afrika ya Mashariki, na pia kiko miongoni mwa vyuo vya maana katika Afrika nzima.

Nia ya wakuu wa chuo hiki ni kwamba mwishowe kutakuwa na uchunguzi utakaoundeshwa na waalimu wa Chuo na wanafunzi wa madarasa ya juu, juu ya mambo yanayohusika na nchi za *tropic* yaani nchi zilizo kando ya Equator kama Afrika ya Mashariki. Uchunguzi huu utakuwa hasa juu ya ujenjaji, jinsi zinavyoendeshwa nguvu za umeme na viwanja vingine vyenye mambo ya maarifa.

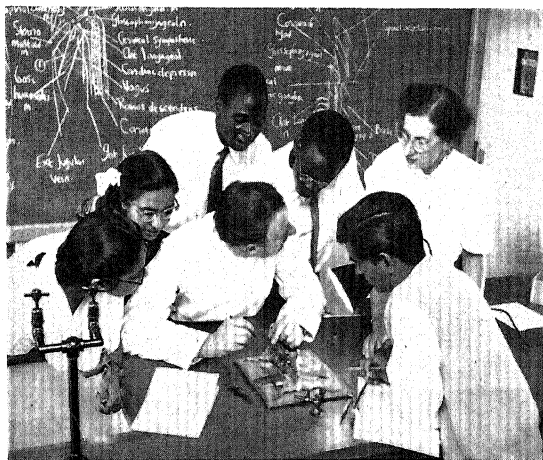
Serikali na makampuni ya wafanyi biashara katika East Africa wanayo matumaini ya juu kwa Chuo hiki, kwa sababu kuna uhaba wa ajabu wa wanaume na wanawake walio stadi katika mambo ya ufundi na biashara.



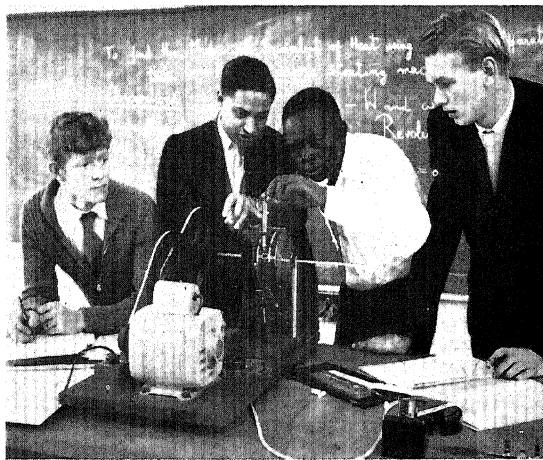
Darasa la kufunzia mambo yanayohusu kazi za nyumbani yaani 'Domestic Science'

Kwa vile mpango wa maendeleo ya nchi za East Africa yameanzishwa kuna tumaini kwamba uhaba utazidi kuongezeka na ni wajibu wa Royal Technical College of East Africa kuona kwamba wapangaji wa mpango huo wanatazamia kupata mafundi wengi—wa kiume na wa kike—watakaofaa kwa kazi hizo.

(Article and photographs by courtesy of the Information Office, Nairobi)

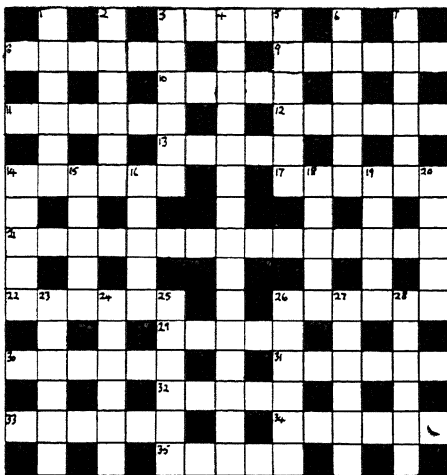


Wanafunzi wanatazama sehemu iliyokatwa ya mnyama aina ya sungura, yaani 'guinea pig'



Wanafunzi wanaonekana katika jumba la 'laboratory' la 'Applied Mechanics' yaani ufundi wa juu wa mitambo

On the lighter side



24. Cut off, and nearly 27 (6)
25. Quaking feeling (6)
26. Some well-known Australians are this (2, 4)
27. Avoided (6)
28. Irish garment (6)

From 'Salam', house journal of the British Malayan Petroleum Co., Ltd., and Sarawak Oilfields Ltd

(For solution see page 257)

Out for a Duck

Extract from an African Assistant Traffic Inspector's report on the work of an Assistant Station Master:—

"I am sorry to say that Mr. seems to be playing ducks and drakes with the duties entrusted to him. I think his explanation is fishy and he is only trying to jump out of the frying pan into the fire. I have shaken up his ears and told him that if he continues to give unsatisfactory work, he might one day find himself resting at the bottom of the ladder."

. . . unless he pulls his socks up, puts his back into it, changes his tune, puts his shoulder to the grindstone, turns over a new leaf and gets down to it.

(By kind permission of East African Railways and Harbours)



(From 'Shell Service', Holland)

Across:

3. Successful answer to calls (5)
8. Half a U.K. river, this fertilizes (6)
9. Whereabouts of the Pop Inn? (6)
10. Father and the editor mixed (5)
11. Foot with three parts (6)
12. Portuguese coin (6)
13. Latin earth (5)
14. Twist, with a monkey sometimes (6)
17. German admiral (6)
21. Music to the Wimbledon champion (4, 3, 3, 5)
22. Menace from the tar (6)
26. Measure of a close Test win (3, 3)
29. Do as he does, when you're in his town (5)
30. Aim high, is the snake angry? (6)
31. Evident saying (6)
32. He's off for fruit (5)
33. Awake (4, 2)
34. Ill-matched (6)
35. Early one has a leisurely breakfast (5)

Down:

1. Some might call it market (6)
2. Australian war-time Premier (6)
3. Good down the hatch (6)
4. Not quite true, and ten must steer (15)
5. Charm to end ear ache (6)
6. One of those N.A. Indians (6)
7. Pet (6)
14. White island (5)
15. Cartoon character (5)
16. Anti-Caesar conspirator (5)
18. Jordan morning mail? (5)
19. Vehicle from trade term (5)
20. Timber-tree (5)
23. Kathy's so poor, she drinks this (6)

guidance. The details of the story will vary from child to child and change as progress is achieved, but the final aim is clear—a man solidly grounded in principle, capable of discerning the nature of his acts, and determined in all circumstances to do the right.

30. There is a third element in the exercise of character, namely, the will to do the right thing. There is no simple prescription for the training of the will, and it is perhaps in this that those who contend that character must be rooted in religious faith will find their chief argument.

31. What has been said of training in character might be said in similar terms of education in taste. As with the good, we come to know the beautiful less by any process of rational thought than by acquaintance with beautiful things. It must be the aim of education to cultivate an appreciation of beauty and the power to express beauty in creative action. Here again the educational process is necessarily gradual. It is the business of the educationist to see that examples of beauty in all its forms are available as widely as possible. Appreciation of beauty is sterile if it does not evoke the impulse to create beauty in language, music, motion, or form. The power to do this comes through the opportunity to make an attempt, and the ability to evaluate the result of effort. An essential element in education is to provide full opportunities for creative activity of this sort, and there is perhaps no part of education which can contribute more to the enrichment of personal life.

32. Education will fail in its object if it does not also inculcate a respect for truth. Knowledge of many kinds is necessary for the right development of the African peoples. It comes to them from many sources, from their own tradition and observation and by the impact of European ideas. In any country where the old and the new are as intermixed as they are in Africa, it is particularly difficult to distinguish the true from the false. There is always the temptation to assume that the new is necessarily true and the old false or, in reverse, to assume that the old is true just because it is old. Yet the development of the ability to distinguish the true from the false must be a fundamental aim of education. Knowledge of the good and the beautiful are forms of knowledge by acquaintance, but this particular problem is, perhaps, best approached in connexion with knowledge that is gained by rational processes applied to facts established in experience, a form of knowledge of which science is an example. Science, within its field of validity, has established techniques whereby truth can be established and distinguished from falsehood. Therein lies its educational value. Truth is so often beclouded by wishful thinking that it is useful to have a field, however limited, in which the matter may be brought to a final test.

33. There is an important distinction between the parts which these various forms of knowledge play in education. Whereas no education could be regarded as adequate which did not lead the individual to the limit of his capabilities in the development of character and taste, it is neither practicable nor desirable that, for any individual, education by instruction should attempt to cover the field of factual knowledge. Even for those who proceed farthest, an extremely high degree of selection must be exercised, and the very limited ground that can be covered by the ordinary individual implies the necessity for the greatest care in selection.

34. We have delayed reference to schools because these now play such an important part in education that there is a danger of identifying the part with the whole. Schools came into existence mainly for one or both of two reasons. Education in some of its aspects demanded time, knowledge, and skill which were beyond the power of parents to provide; or, individuals, bodies, or the community itself assumed educational responsibilities under the impulse of philanthropic, religious, or social motives. The essential character of a school is that it is a gathering together for some educational purpose of children or adults under the guidance of teachers who are deemed qualified to achieve the purpose in view. The establishment of schools represents a shift of educational responsibility. That which was formerly the responsibility of the parents or near kin of the young person becomes in part the responsibility of the school. The degree of the shift will depend upon the nature of the school. If the school is residential and attended for many years, and if home ties have become weak or non-existent, educational responsibility may rest almost entirely upon the school. These are, however, exceptional and rare circumstances and, for the great majority of children, the responsibility will be shared by parents, neighbours, and the school. Unless these partners work together the effect may well be that the efforts of one are nullified by those of another.

35. This is a very real danger on the West Coast, for there are not only the ordinary primary and secondary schools based on a tradition alien to the life and thought of the parents, but some children also attend schools of African origin operating at arm's length from the ordinary schools. The Poro and Bundu societies of Sierra Leone and the Koranic schools of the Muslim communities have clearly defined educational purposes which are likely to be fully endorsed by the parents of the children who come under their influence. The same children may be attending a primary school the educational purpose of which may be misunderstood by the parents and may seem to them to be unrelated to anything in their life.

36. There is a great need for the integration of educational effort on the West Coast, remembering always that the purpose of education is the right upbringing of the individual child. This purpose is unlikely to be accomplished if it leaves the child subject to the pull and push of many influences exerted by persons who have little or no mutual sympathy and understanding. This necessary integration can be achieved only in the immediate neighbourhood of the particular school. It is essential that parents should know the school their children attend and have the greatest possible measure of understanding of what the teachers are trying to do in the shared responsibility of education. It is essential that the teachers should know the parents in a relationship of mutual trust and confidence. The teachers should have a full understanding of what is being done by other agencies for the religious or tribal education of their children. It is a trite plea that the school should be an integral part of the community and that the teacher should identify himself as closely as possible with the community to which his pupils belong, but in Africa at the present time there is a great opportunity to give real meaning to these phrases. Happily, there are good signs of progress. There are many active parent-teacher associations, and parents and chiefs are frequently in or about a

school. The school building is often the result of great local effort. The rapid development of local government now taking place in many areas of the Coast will assist in the same direction. Indeed, the interest of the local community in education is often one of the main assets in this development.

37. Instruction in skills and factual knowledge is the aspect of education in relation to which the school is most obviously economical of effort; and, as a matter of history, schools have usually been thought of in the first instance as places of instruction. A school, however, by its very nature has wider educational opportunities, and the best schools at all times have become much more than places of instruction. The reasons are not far to seek. In a school a pupil is in intimate and fairly continuous contact with a teacher for a substantial period of time. The influence of his example on the developing character of his pupil may be profound and lasting. The school may become a community with its complex of personal relationships between junior and senior which creates the situations in which character can develop. Under wise leadership a school can evolve a tone and character of its own which will leave its mark on its pupils throughout life. In brief, a school may be an instrument of education in its widest and fullest sense.

38. All this might truly be said of the best schools in West Africa, and the aim should be to raise all schools to this level. If this is to be done, there are some conditions which must be observed.

(i) The teaching profession must attract men and women of high character with a strong sense of vocation.

(ii) School buildings must be made capable of housing a community. A mere series of bare class-room boxes is not enough. There should be opportunities for the school to meet as a whole from time to time. There should be opportunities for it to collect its simple treasures of beauty. This is no plea for elaborate and expensive school buildings, for homes may be found in humble houses, and there are palaces that are not homes.

(iii) The integrity of the school must be respected. The tone of a school depends very much upon the ordered seniority within it. Pupils enter at the bottom of the school and grow up through it, absorbing the tone of the place and acquiring increasing responsibilities of leadership as they approach the top. It is the quality of this leadership among the pupils and its relation to the leadership of the teachers which determines the quality of the school. It matters little if some of the weaker pupils fall by the way and fail to reach the top of the school. It may, indeed, be an advantage to the school if some of its ablest and best pupils stay on for a year or so longer than the majority. It is fatal to the prospects of the school if, for some reason of organization or administration, the ablest and the best pupils are removed half-way up the school. The essential leadership of the older pupils is then left to the less able, and the evil is aggravated if these are smarting under a sense of failure and disappointment. Wherever it has been tried, this system has proved disastrous to the schools from which the selection is made. In one form or another this system is in operation in several areas of the West Coast. It is educationally quite unsound and should be abolished as quickly as the necessary adjustments of organization can be effected. A school should be given a clear and definite assignment within the educational effort of the country

and left free to fulfil it for each of its pupils. The successful completion of the full course at one school is the best evidence on which to decide the future educational careers of its pupils.

39. One of the most important outstanding problems of educational administration on the West Coast is the right organization of formal education, having regard to the fact that, for the majority, it will extend over only a few years, though for a minority it will last for many years, culminating perhaps in a university. This is exemplified in a familiar diagram which ought to be kept up to date in every Provincial Education Office. It shows at its base the long rectangle representing the number of pupils in their first year at school (or possibly in the first-year class). Above this is the shorter rectangle representing the number of pupils in the second year, and so on until the roughly triangular figure is completed. The progress made in getting this triangle into the proper shape is an important index of the progress of formal education, and there are some general principles that can be laid down as to the proper shape.

40. In the first place, each year in the diagram ought to correspond fairly closely to a definite age of the pupil. This is a consequence of the recognition that school education is only one part of a wider educational process that has regard to every aspect of the growth of the pupil. At least over the first twenty years, age is a fairly accurate index of all-round development. It is not usually a good thing for a pupil to be badly out of step in his school development in relation to his development in other directions. It may cause grave complications if a class consists of pupils who, though they may be at approximately the same stage of school development, are very different in other respects. The very wide age-range of pupils in the same class that has been common in certain parts of West Africa in the past is not educationally good. This state of affairs is incidental to the early stages of development towards universal education, for the alternatives must often arise that either a pupil has the benefit of attending school at a relatively late age or he is denied the benefits of school altogether. Considerable progress towards greater uniformity has taken place in recent years. Further progress is necessary, though strict uniformity is neither necessary nor desirable.

41. The breadth of the base of the triangle shows at any time the progress made towards the ideal of universal education. There can be no question that it should be the ideal for the whole of the West Coast, though it is an ideal that can be attained only by overcoming the practical difficulties standing in the way of its realization.

42. From what has already been said it follows that the triangular shape, with a considerable proportion of pupils dropping out each year, is bad. The triangle ought progressively to be reshaped as a series of rectangles representing successive stages of school education—one or more primary school stages, a secondary school stage, &c. Each stage should cover a period of years sufficient to enable the school to fulfil an educational purpose. As far as practicable each pupil who enters the stage should pursue it to its conclusion. The right time for leaving school is at the conclusion of one of the recognized stages, and certainly no action by Government or responsible public bodies should encourage pupils to leave school at any other time.

43. All this makes the planning of the successive stages, with their length and appropriate age-range, of vital importance to the development of education. There is no reason to suppose that the right planning will necessarily be the same everywhere, but there is such a diversity of practice on the West Coast, and so many educational problems are involved, that it is worth inquiring what are the general considerations that ought to govern this planning.

44. Our knowledge of child development does not give us any very clear guidance except, possibly, as to the age at which formal school education can begin. What we know of the development of the conceptual powers of a child with age has many implications in teaching method but, in itself, it tells us little about the right age for transfer from primary school to secondary school or from secondary school to university. These ages have been decided, and often very differently decided, in different educational systems on other considerations. Once they are decided, considerations of individual development will, of course, affect the character and content of the various stages accordingly.

45. The key point around which educational organization is likely to be built on the Coast is the age of transition from primary to secondary school. Even when desirable alternative forms of secondary education have been developed more fully than at present, this will be for many years to come the point of separation between the schools for the many and the schools for the few. There is a considerable body of opinion, endorsed in a later section of this report, indicating twelve as about the earliest age at which it is possible to foresee the development of a child over a period of years sufficient to have significance as a school life, and thus to judge whether the child is reasonably likely to profit by a secondary school course either of the present type or of any of the alternative types that may be developed. For the present it would seem that a five-year secondary course from this age would give the opportunity for a secondary school to develop a healthy corporate life and to give the appropriate standard of attainment to the minority of its pupils who are destined to proceed to universities and other forms of higher education or professional training. Granted the necessary minimum maturity for university studies, the line of demarcation between secondary school and university at any time or place depends upon the state of the development of the secondary schools and, in fact, shifts as that development proceeds. As secondary schools develop and more of them have the staff and equipment necessary to cover sixth-form work, there will be a gradual upward adjustment of the stage of transfer from school to university, until it is possible to achieve the desire of the University Colleges that their students should enter at about the age of nineteen after spending two years in the sixth form.

46. The more difficult problems arise in the lower stages. If primary education is normally to finish at the age of twelve, at what stage should it begin, and should it be in one stage or in two stages conducted, probably, in different schools? The basic consideration will be the length of time necessary to accomplish the purposes of primary school education as set out more particularly in a later section, and to accomplish these not only for the pupils who will later seek entry to secondary schools but also for those who will leave school at the end of the primary stage.

This is by no means a simple question. It may be that, by beginning later, more rapid progress can be achieved. The standard of attainment desired may determine a minimum length for the course, but attainment is by no means the only object of the primary school and it may be that, on wider educational grounds, the course should exceed the minimum in length. The age of entry to the primary school might be set low because it is judged that children of the age in question will find the satisfaction of their immediate needs more readily in school than elsewhere. All these considerations have to be balanced in the light of the available resources of money and teachers.

47. The age at which school education should begin is a difficult problem, partly because the answer depends so intimately on the social conditions that prevail. This is well illustrated by the variety of opinions expressed in different parts of the Coast. In a large town in which housing conditions were obviously unsatisfactory, a group of teachers urged that nursery schools should be provided for children under the age of five because home conditions were often bad. In Muslim areas it was thought that children should not attend school before the age of seven, and it is significant that this plea was made on the ground that the welfare of children up to that age was looked after in other ways. It was often said that the reluctance of parents to send children to school, even very young children, arose from the loss of their services on the farm. Juvenile employment affects education in many ways, but it has a particular bearing on this problem. The visitor from the United Kingdom cannot easily forget the long history of social legislation designed to protect children against exploitation and to safeguard their educational interests. With all this in his mind he sees many things in Africa that give him pause to think. But the employment of children of tender years as chimney-sweeps or in drab factories in the England of bygone days represented something utterly different in its nature from the African child, sharing in the life and activity of his parents, carrying his small load, minding cattle, or scaring birds on the family farm. The latter is a natural and good form of education if the parents are kind and considerate, as the great majority of African parents are, if the physical burden is adjusted to the strength of the child and, above all, if the child is happy. There may well be particular circumstances in which it is educationally bad to take a child prematurely away from this natural education and send him to school.

48. All this goes to show that there is considerable elasticity in the length of the primary school course finishing at, say, the age of twelve, and that there is no reason why different systems should not be adopted for different parts of the Coast, each justified by the prevailing social conditions of the locality.

49. The question of a division into two stages can arise only if the whole primary course is relatively long for, if it is divided, each part must be sufficiently long to enable the school to build up a significant corporate life. Again, there seems to be no argument in favour of the division unless it is contemplated that the later stage will be followed by a proportion only of the pupils who complete the early stage. It may then be a consideration of economy to provide the second stage in centres less widely dispersed than the first stage, which must of necessity be provided quite close to the homes of the pupils.

50. Present limitations of resources of finance and teachers may affect the problem in another way. At a stage at which it is possible to make primary education widely available for a limited number of years only, the resources will, generally speaking, be used to better advantage in providing a five-year course from, say, age seven to twelve, with the expectation that it will be completed by the great majority of the pupils who begin it, than by providing a seven-year course from, say, age five to twelve, with the expectation that pupils will drop out in considerable numbers before the course is completed. When restrictions of resources are even more severe, and it is at present possible to contemplate a primary course of, say, only four years for the majority of pupils, it would seem that, for the time being, a two-stage primary system is inevitable. In a later section, however, it is contended that a course of so short a length cannot be regarded as compatible with the realization of the aims of primary education, and it would accordingly be unfortunate if it should tend to be perpetuated by incorporation in a two-stage primary system.

51. In any social structure as complex as that which has been reached in many parts of the Coast, schools fulfil another function. They determine at least broadly the future careers of their pupils. If a boy goes to a particular school certain careers will be open to him which would not have been open to him if he had gone to a school of another sort or if he had not gone to school at all. Moreover, in so far as he is free to choose his career when he leaves school, his choice will be determined very largely by his experience of various sorts of activity and by the estimation in which he holds the various careers that are open to him.

52. In the simpler life of earlier times when a son followed closely in the footsteps of his father there was no problem. The boy from his earliest years saw the work he would do as a man being done by his father or his neighbours. The coming of organized school education side by side with the growing complexity of society creates a new situation. A school, because it is itself a community, is always subject to a tendency to isolate itself from the outside world. When this tendency is successfully resisted it is only by a very great and conscious effort. Unless it is resisted the pupil as he nears the time for leaving school will either choose his career blindly without knowing the real nature of the work he is choosing or, worse still, he will leave school without any formed idea of what he wants to do, possibly to join a drifting crowd of adolescents.

53. If education means anything at all it will make a determined effort to tackle this problem. A school should take an interest in the world outside itself and particularly in the work that is going on in that world. It should make its pupils familiar with the various kinds of work carried on in its vicinity not only by description but by seeing it in operation and, when practicable, participating in it. Inside the school the pupil should have the opportunity to engage in a variety of activity, not only because this is necessary for his own development, but because it will enable him to discover the kind of activity for which he has an aptitude or a liking.

54. It is not unusual to find in the top classes of an African school a strong public opinion as to the prestige of various forms of work. A wise teacher will try to destroy false and snobbish values and to give due honour to each form of work according to the demands it makes upon the

worker and the extent to which it serves social need. When the teacher has done his best, the final choice of the pupil will be an act of character. He knows something of the nature of the work; he perceives its value and its opportunities; he judges it to be worth while; and he goes out to do it. The grounds and the quality of these decisions by its pupils are the supreme test of the value of a school as a place of education; and this is true whether the effective choice of a pupil is between a range of learned professions or between a few forms of humble labour.

55. There is another side to this problem. A nation is a happy nation to the extent to which each individual is doing the work he enjoys and thinks worth while, while together they meet all their needs. The two requirements may be in conflict, yet neither can be escaped. Certainly West Africa cannot escape the second, for, unless it can deploy its man-power to the best advantage, all its schemes for progress and development will come to naught.

56. The most obvious and usual prescription is economic. If you are short of workers of a certain kind, raise the rate of pay and you will get them. True enough! It works at least for the time being. Certainly economic maladjustments, by which the most socially necessary forms of work sometimes carry the lowest rates of pay, ought to be corrected. As a long-term and over-all policy, however, the method is not free from difficulty, perhaps because man-power, unlike money, cannot be inflated. You remedy one shortage only to create others, to some of which the same remedy must be applied. Experience in the United Kingdom would seem to show that, particularly in times of rapid change, the method does not easily lead to equilibrium, but rather that sooner or later it has to be buttressed by systems of controls of labour and materials which are devices for preventing people from doing the things they would otherwise think most worth while.

57. But these are questions for the economist rather than the educationist. Our part is to point out that, whatever the answer to them may be, there lies beneath them a deeper question of national education. Do we want the mainspring of action to be self-interest or the desire to serve? The two are delicately balanced in human nature. Look for either and you will find it. Call on either and it will respond. But whichever you call upon you will strengthen to the weakening of the other. It is not hard to discover cupidity among Africans, but even the casual visitor cannot fail to recognize their strong sense of kinship and brotherhood. This is characteristically African. It could be weakened and lost amid the present change; it could be the foundation of a truly African national life.

58. Education has a constructive solution to offer, for character is the balancing item in the account between free service and social need. To the man of character the work that is needed by his fellows and will be of benefit to them has for these reasons an enhanced value. He belongs to those who say, 'Show me the job that I can do and that most needs doing and I will do it.' The building of character of this sort is the work of education.

59. There is one further thing that education should do through its school organization. It should ensure that training is given that is a suitable preparation for all the varied forms of work that will be needed, and that that training is given to approximately the right number of pupils. If the standard of living is to be raised, men are

needed who are willing to learn and to practise improved methods of agriculture. If buildings, transport, and industry are to be developed, skilled tradesmen of many sorts will be needed. In brief, none of the many schemes for social and economic development now under discussion can be carried to success unless young Africans with the right skill and training are available to work them. This is only one of many reasons why those who are concerned with education on the West Coast should work in intimate and continuous contact with those who are concerned with development in any of its many forms.

60. This attempt to define the function of education in a developing society may be concluded by returning to the

thought that education is the united concern of a people for the right upbringing of its children and the improvement of its national life, and that its success will depend upon the co-operation of parents, teachers, administrators, leaders in public affairs, and, indeed, all who care for the future of their country. There is solid ground for hope on the West Coast. There are few places in which the interest in education is more widely spread or where greater efforts have been made by missionaries, administrators, and local communities. The difficulties to be overcome have been and still are immense. But the African peoples are united in their determination that they shall be overcome.

2. THE WEST AFRICAN SITUATION

The Varied Scene

61. In an attempt to apply general principles to the solution of educational problems on the West Coast one is immediately met by the difficulty of the great variety of circumstances, not only from one territory to another, but in different parts of the same territory. This variety is so great that generalizations are difficult and may be dangerous. Within each of the four territories there are many tribes drawing their inherited cultures from widely differing strains. There are differing languages and different dialects within these languages, different customs and different traditional laws and systems of native government.

62. There may be a large Yoruba township lying hidden away from the road where there are three primary schools—mission, Native Authority, and Muslim, and where the townspeople long to establish a secondary school. The town may contain two Christian churches, a Muslim mosque, and on its borders there may be a shrine only recently installed at great expense.

63. Building goes on apace in a town like Berekum in the Gold Coast which is being prepared as a railway terminus for the cocoa trade. In the tin-mines of the Jos plateau there are gangs of pagan labourers busy beneath the girdled heights of steam shovels. In the mining areas around Tarkwa there are model villages built for workers and their families from all over the Gold Coast. There they may enjoy the amenities of canteen meals, community centres, and schools, all provided for their children by the management. On the other hand, there are pagan villages in Northern Nigeria built in several layers on a hill-top like a medieval town, and in this rocky wilderness, wherever there is soil enough to scratch, there are clusters of conical huts and stair-like terraces. Other hill-top villages are fenced by high hedges of poisonous cactus. In all of them the poverty of the people is equalled only by their kindness to the strange European, and their laughter and happiness is, in itself, an act of courage.

64. In the Gambia and in the Tiv country there are villages of some forty households, each with a walled compound enclosing a group of beehive huts which vary in number according to the connubial status of the owner. In the adjacent farms guinea corn and cassava, plots of rice, cotton, and indigo, supply the needs for food and clothing.

Gourds of various kinds are grown on unharvested lands to provide household utensils. In such an area the administrative offices and the home of the Education Officer may resemble an Arab fort, where work is carried on under flickering lamps in a shadowy pillared room, hemmed in by the bareness of yard-thick walls. Development in all such areas is dependent upon the provision of roads, power, and health services.

65. Contrasted with all this, there are to be found in some of the larger towns fine modern buildings, highly organized department stores, broad roads, and good town planning. African judges, surgeons, and business men follow their respective callings much as they would in any European capital.

66. Economically and socially in all the four territories everything is changing with almost frightening rapidity. Even the community life of the rural areas, which often retains an atmosphere of almost Biblical simplicity, is being made aware of the spirit of change by the advent of motor transport and the bicycle and the widespread change to a cash economy. The less isolated areas are being plunged almost at one stride from an agrarian society into the middle of an industrial revolution, while all along the coastal belt problems of evil and suffering, painfully reminiscent of the early days of the Industrial Revolution in England, are already engaging the troubled minds of all thinking men and women.

67. These varying scenes and the varying rates of progress from territory to territory and township to township show the danger of making generalized statements about social life or educational needs in West Africa. On the other hand, there is a danger of too parochial an approach. With all the varieties of local circumstance, the peoples in each territory are growing together into a common nationhood. This movement is shared even by those who live in the most isolated places and, at a time when larger interests and loyalties than those of the village are opening out before them, they wish to learn about the village as it has become and can become in their own country.

The Changing Social Structure

68. The extended family composed of a varying number of single families is the basis of the social structure in most parts of the Coast, but constant movements of population,

especially in recent times, have sometimes broken the pattern. In all but the most isolated areas they are tending to disrupt it. Where it has survived it has inevitably been modified as communications have improved and the effect of the outside world has been felt. The spread of Islam, Christianity, and education have all played important parts in these changes. At the same time, education and increase in wealth have resulted in the emergence of strong and powerful classes hitherto unknown in West African society.

69. In many places where the basis of life was formerly subsistence farming and 'small trade' in foodstuffs, the introduction of ground-nuts and cocoa farming has led to a decline in food production. This has given to areas not yet engaged in the production of cash crops an increased market for their surplus food. Thus in all districts the increased possibilities for trading have led to the desire for good roads and bridges. Trading has always been an important element in West African economy and, indeed, almost every married woman seems to have some part in it. In the past, however, it was the small trading of the local market or the retailing of goods obtained from the European trading firms. What is comparatively new is the emergence of a powerful class of Africans trading on a large scale.

70. A rich cocoa-farming area or a new railhead is often the scene of a great deal of building, for frequently as soon as a trader or farmer prospers he builds a house and may indeed build several. But it seems rare for anyone to build a house entirely for his own use. A small two-storied house, containing eight rooms and costing perhaps £600 or £700 to build, may bring in rents varying from 5s. to perhaps 12s. 6d. a month per room, and the growth of the towns and the influx into them of teachers, Native Authority employees, and commercial clerks have made such property a valuable investment and the owners persons of increasing social influence.

71. Recent times have also seen a rapid expansion of the educated classes in West Africa. Centering around the older school foundations, there have for a long time been a number of African families educated in successive generations, and their members have provided a small but very influential group in African society. The new circumstance is the rapid expansion of this group by those who have passed through the primary or secondary schools but who have not the home background of these educated families. There is a danger that they may come to think of themselves as an educated class separated from their illiterate compatriots.

72. The growth of these new classes within African society is bound to have far-reaching effects upon the whole social structure which, in the long run, may be of great benefit. In the meantime, serious problems have to be faced if these various elements are to be kept together in the development of a harmonious national life, and these are fundamentally problems of education.

Problems and Needs

73. While the many developments and changes to which reference has been made are of great importance, the main lines of policy suggested in the review of educational policy by the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1921 are still largely applicable. The suggestions then made can now be

developed, however, in the light of thirty years' experience, and there are certain problems which rapid change has thrown into high relief.

74. The early history of education in West Africa is the history of vocational education for specific kinds of employment. The most clamant need of the early missionaries, traders, and Government was for catechists and clerks. A boy who became literate was assured of employment, and in many cases of pensionable Government employment. On the whole, parents still send their children to school in order that they may qualify for 'black-coated' jobs. In many areas the position has already been reached that there are not enough jobs of this sort to absorb more than a proportion of school-leavers. As farming is often regarded as neither a profession nor full-time occupation, parents feel that they should maintain their educated children in idleness until a suitable clerical job is found. The period of unemployment may last for several years, and bring with it the evil consequences of unemployment in any country. This is now becoming a matter of grave concern since, in some areas, it is affecting school enrolment.

75. The problem of careers for girls is even more acute, the expansion of education for girls having only begun at the very moment when many African parents are questioning the value of education as a guarantee of employment for their boys. Unless a real drive can be made to explore the possibilities of careers for girls, their education may receive a very serious set-back, since parents whose educated boys have become a problem can hardly be blamed if they refuse to saddle themselves with the problem of educated daughters.

76. Now that literacy alone is ceasing to be a passport to employment it is essential that the whole question of placement in employment should be considered afresh by Education Departments with a view to framing a definite policy for vocational training and apprenticeship schemes for both girls and boys.

Moral Education

77. In the last analysis cultural and moral values are the most important factors in social organization. Education, development, and welfare plans must go hand in hand with advances in morality and social responsibility. There must be both a strengthening and indoctrination of common cultural values through education in its broadest sense in, and for, citizenship. If this is neglected until the present generation of Africans still at school is grown up it will be too late. The tensions are already too great. Many young Africans are torn between the old way of life they have discarded with all its sanctions and the new way they have not completely assimilated and of whose sanctions they are not fully aware.

78. The extended family system has been thrown out of gear, with its delicate balance of rights and obligations, its wide network of relationships and activities which embraced the total life of the community—political, religious, economic, and social—and which provided security and legal and moral sanctions of both private and public conduct in that society. Its collapse and inadequacy for the new situation has meant the weakening and, in some instances, the breakdown of the moral and legal sanctions of the community. It has led to a decay of old systems of legislative authority and an unfounded belief in education

as the sole social ameliorating influence, with a consequent increase of juvenile delinquency, unemployment, and destitution.

79. The degree of corruption, particularly in money matters and place-seeking, is a cause of grave concern. The main causes seem to be the load of debt which almost all Africans accumulate as a result, among other things, of the extended family system, and at one and the same time the breakdown of the old ideas concerning family responsibilities. These have not been replaced by an adequate training in public responsibilities nor by any training in that new type of responsibility necessary in more limited and intimate family groupings.

80. An immediate remedy for some of the difficulties would seem to lie in sanctions. Stricter legislation might be formulated with regard to debt. A beginning has been made concerning this for the protection of junior civil servants in the Gold Coast, but further legislation of this character might well be considered. Again, it is most important that there should be a stricter enforcement of a high code of moral and professional conduct. If it were clearly understood that no second chances were given for certain offences, no matter what the public inconvenience or the personal tragedy, many Africans would be more reluctant to risk actions which would not only lay them open to charges of moral turpitude, bribery, and corruption, but which would end their professional careers. This should become the general practice in many categories of employment, in industry no less than in Government service. This attitude should be emphasized in the professions and particularly in the teaching profession. There are signs that many professional bodies, notably the Nigeria Union of Teachers, realize the importance of giving a firm lead in this matter.

81. It is necessary for the schools to take more account of this problem. There is need for definite social training in schools and training colleges which should make clear the loyalty and responsibilities a man owes to his immediate family, to ordering his financial obligations, to himself as a person of honour and integrity, and to the State as a citizen. The problem is one of the general education of public opinion, not only of getting the right sort of teachers and the right sort of curriculum. On the trustworthiness of the local administration the whole future of West African education depends. Education departments must not only recognize the needs but must also provide the teaching; its adaptation is a task for the people themselves, but it is the common cultural values they accept and the degree of social responsibility they assume that will determine the progress of Africa. In this field informal education has its important part to play.

Religious Education

82. The question of religious education is one on which responsible African opinion everywhere is much exercised, feeling as the majority do that an entirely secular education is undesirable. There is a very real concern that moral and religious standards should be safeguarded and that young and old should not turn from or forget the old wisdom without fully recognizing that material advantages and progress bring their own responsibilities and demand that same integrity, foresight, and wisdom which must be handed on patiently by generation after generation if

any nation is to assume the requisite guardianship of its culture.

83. Naturally the effectiveness of religious education varies considerably from school to school. It would seem to be the least effective in the Native Authority schools, but in general such education in the majority of schools of all types tends to be too much concerned with matters of doctrine and too little with the fact that religion is also a way of life which should find expression in modifying behaviour not only in school but outside it. This seems to be as true of the schools of the various Christian denominations as of Koranic teaching. The training colleges have a vital part to play here and it would be helpful if the mission training colleges would undertake the responsibility of training not only for posts in their respective mission schools but of training as many teachers as possible who would quite normally take posts in other schools.

84. In the interim, mission training colleges might be encouraged to arrange holiday courses for head teachers and others who are vitally concerned about religious education. At such courses modern methods of approach to this all-important matter could be discussed and evolved. Subsequently, such head teachers might well feel that they had a responsibility to take charge of religious education throughout the school. It cannot be too often reiterated that the school is one of the most important sources from which children may derive their attitudes, social behaviour, and an appreciation of eternal values. Only by keeping these values perpetually before the children can it be ensured that it is not a debased and mortgaged inheritance which they enter into in adult life. The schools need to encourage children not only to formulate their own faith and philosophy of life but also to respect that of others. Africa is a land where Islam and Christianity are both important forces, and any understanding and appreciation of obligations and duties in a community are dependent upon respect for the faith and aspirations of all one's fellow citizens. The African headmistress of the girls' school at Tamale in the Gold Coast had a most clear realization of this and had evolved a most comprehensive and yet simple course of instruction.

Leadership in Society

85. The problem of African society, as of all other societies, is rooted in the need for leadership and training in that social responsibility without which the expenditure of large sums on development of all kinds will not produce a workable constitution or a better society. Administrative and constitutional changes will demand not only knowledge and skill but a high degree of integrity. The intellectual arrogance which is content to grasp the reins of leadership and power, and which overlooks the importance of so delegating its powers that leadership is a positive and active force in smaller communities, is not only dangerous but carries within it the germ of decay.

86. It is not sufficient to plan a democratic state if the skills and attitudes that make for success are lacking. It is of fundamental importance that the planning of social change shall be a collaborative effort in which the task is to discover and construct new common interests out of conflicting ones. Moreover, the work of planning must be educational for all participants. The real test of the goodness of new institutions and practices is the extent to which

they contribute to the well-being of all members of the community, and all such planning must be regarded as experimental so that it is productive of constant endeavour after still more improvement.

87. The problem of African education can only be solved if the status and standing of the teaching profession is unquestioned and if teachers become jealous of their high professional integrity. This means that the problem of teachers' relations with parents, with chiefs, elders, and other Government servants, must be faced squarely in the training colleges and by the teaching profession itself. The teacher and his wife should be leaders in the community to which they go, and the practice of some training colleges of allowing their married students to take their wives into residence might well be extended. The wives, subject to the discipline of the institution, provide a class in which regular attendance is assured and receive instruction in

literacy and domestic subjects. They come voluntarily and, when they go out to villages, they are in a position to set an example to hundreds of women who would otherwise have no chance of learning new and better ways of living. These women are in a key position for both leadership and mass education, and it is to be hoped that permanent provision may be made for the help and guidance of women education officers to be readily available to them. More imaginative types of curriculum, better equipment, and far better housing in the training colleges are necessary if this scheme is to have its maximum potential value.

88. This report has so far been concerned with general principles and the situation to which they have to be applied in West Africa. In its remaining sections an attempt will be made to deal with the specific problems facing those who are responsible for the planning, organization, and conduct of educational effort in West Africa.

3. PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Organization of Primary Education

89. In all the West African territories primary education is trying to perform two functions and is likely to have to continue to do so for many years to come. It must aim at providing a satisfying and worthwhile course for the great majority of children, whose formal schooling ends at or before the end of the primary stage; and it should also provide a satisfactory course for the few who go on to secondary education. It is, of course, true that the emphasis placed on these two aims varies greatly in different parts of the West Coast territories. In most of the bigger towns and in the greater part of Ashanti and of Eastern Nigeria the demand for secondary education is so insistent that the role of the primary schools as preparatory to the secondary schools has assumed in the eyes of teachers and public alike an importance out of all proportion to the very small number of children who do in fact go on to secondary schools, and this minor role has come to overshadow the major one. On the other hand, in the Protectorates of Sierra Leone and the Gambia, in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, and in Northern Nigeria, most people are not yet looking much beyond the primary schools. But, though the relative importance of these two functions in public opinion varies, the effect of this variation on the schools is astonishingly slight. It would probably be generally admitted that the majority of schools have not performed either function particularly well; that they have given far more attention to the second than to the first; and that they have in consequence been on the whole less unsuccessful in preparing the few for secondary schools than in preparing the many for life. It must be added that no other result can reasonably be expected from schools which, ignoring time and distance, attempt to model themselves in organization and curriculum on the English elementary school of forty years ago.

90. The march of political events is putting steadily increasing emphasis on universal primary education—that is to say, on to provision of a basic primary course for everybody. It is, therefore, becoming increasingly important to organize primary education and to plan the primary

curriculum so as to give the best possible education to the great majority for whom it will be their only schooling. It is at least possible that a course so planned would provide as good a training as they now receive for those who go on to secondary schools

91. The aims of a primary course of this kind might be defined as:

- (i) The development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour.
- (ii) Some understanding of the community, of what is of value to it, and of the individual's place in it.
- (iii) Some knowledge of the world beyond the immediate surroundings.
- (iv) Permanent literacy in English and often in the vernacular as well.
- (v) The acquisition of some skill of hand and a right appreciation of the value of the work of the hands.

92. It would be hard to justify a course which did not achieve these aims with the great majority of pupils. This at once raises the vital question of the length of the basic primary course, which in its turn is linked with the normal age-range of the pupils taking it. At present both these vary greatly. There is the six-year course, roughly six to twelve years, as in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone; there is the four-year course, roughly eight to twelve years, as in the Gambian Protectorate and Northern Nigeria; and there is the four-year course, roughly five to nine years, as in Eastern and Western Nigeria. None of these courses is as yet regarded as an adequate preparation for secondary education; but each is regarded, in the territory where it operates, as the basic primary course, and universal primary education is taken to mean the provision of this basic course, whatever its present length may be, for the whole population. It is clear that variations as great as these cannot be justified on educational grounds but are caused by economic or social differences. Thus the eight-year-old start in the Gambian Protectorate and Northern Nigeria is mainly the result of Muslim influence; and the four-year course from five to nine is based on the assumption that,

where money is limited, it is best to spend it in giving something, however little, as quickly as possible to as many people as possible.

93. The length and age-range of a primary course cannot be decided without regard to the aims which that course is intended to achieve. It is true that, in deciding on those aims, political and economic considerations cannot be entirely ignored; but it would be disastrous if these considerations were to lead to the adoption of a primary course which was educationally unsound. Experience suggests that a course of less than five years or one which ends before the age of eleven is unlikely by itself to have much permanent value. It is therefore difficult to resist the conclusions that the minimum length for a satisfactory basic course will be found to be five years from about the age of seven; and that even if the course starts before the age of seven it should not finish much before the age of twelve. It is at least clear that a four-year course ending at the age of nine or ten cannot be justified on any educational grounds, and that those territories which are at present working with a four-year primary course, of any age-range, should reconsider the whole question very carefully before accepting such a course as the basis for the future development of the educational system.

94. The adoption as a minimum of a five-year course ending at about the age of twelve would have the additional advantage that selection for secondary education could be made at the end of the course without the need for interposing a further course of primary education, or a course of intermediate education, between the basic primary course and the various secondary courses.

95. In Sierra Leone the principle of the clean cut between primary and a secondary stage of education has already been adopted, and the central schools which are now being developed are essentially secondary schools taking in pupils at the same age as the grammar schools and providing a genuine alternative to them. In the Gambia no definite arrangements have yet been made for the transfer of pupils from the primary schools in the Protectorate to secondary schools, but it is clear that something in the nature of intermediate classes will be necessary to bridge the gap between the end of the four-year primary course and the beginning of the normal secondary course. In the other two territories there is an intermediate course known sometimes as 'senior primary' and sometimes as 'middle'. This course is almost always divided by a selective examination from the basic primary course, while the selection for secondary education is generally made during the intermediate course and not at its end.

96. In the Gold Coast the senior primary schools are to be renamed 'middle' schools. They will continue to provide a four-year course from about the age of twelve for those who have finished the six-year basic primary course. Selection for secondary grammar schools is at present made from the upper classes of these schools, but it is proposed to lower the age of entry to secondary grammar schools stage by stage during the next ten years, so that at the end of that period selection will be made at the end of the basic primary course. When this process is complete the middle schools will be essentially secondary schools providing alternative courses to the secondary grammar schools.

97. In Eastern and Western Nigeria the senior primary

school provides a four-year course to follow the basic four-year primary course and is intended to cover the nine to thirteen age-range. Selection for secondary grammar schools is still normally made during the fourth year of this course, but an increasing number of pupils are succeeding in the selection examination during the third year and, as might be expected, these are proving the more able pupils. It seems very unlikely, however, that it will ever be possible—even if it were desirable—to make the selection for secondary grammar schools at an earlier stage than this.

98. In Northern Nigeria the middle schools were conceived as proving a genuine 'middle' course between the four-year primary course ending at about the age of twelve and a four-year secondary grammar course beginning at about the age of sixteen. But for some time now pupils have gone on to secondary grammar schools from the second year of the middle school, which has thus come to suffer from the same duality of function which afflicts the senior primary schools in the other provinces of Nigeria and in the Gold Coast. No school which habitually loses a proportion of its pupils to other institutions at various stages during its course can be expected to develop a vigorous life of its own. Furthermore, those who fail to secure transfer to secondary grammar schools and remain to finish the intermediate course do so with a sense of failure which the rather narrow and uninspiring fare, which is all that the intermediate school in its present form can afford to offer, does nothing to remove.

99. It is, of course, easy to point out the many obvious objections to the senior primary school and to imply that these must have been equally obvious and equally weighty years ago, and that they should have been enough to prevent the development of such schools. But to do so would be most misleading. Given the general outlook on primary education of thirty years ago, the small amount of money then available, the lack of trained teachers, the fantastic age-range of the pupils, and so on, the senior primary school was almost certainly the best way of offering something more to as many people as possible, and it performed—and can still perform in areas where educational development is still at a very primitive stage—a very useful function. But this does not make it any less desirable that the principle of the clean break between primary and secondary education should be adopted as soon as conditions allow. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the various types of intermediate school which now exist will tend either to disappear or to change their function. Those schools which are mainly concerned with children of primary school age—such as senior primary schools in Eastern and Western Nigeria—will tend to be absorbed into the basic primary course; while those schools in which the majority of the pupils are of secondary school age—such as the middle schools of Northern Nigeria—will tend to develop into secondary schools.

The Primary Curriculum

100. There can be no doubt that primary education on the West Coast has paid far too much regard to the content and treatment traditionally associated with the English elementary school and far too little to the African environment and to the material which has reality and meaning for the children because it is within their experience. The

most immediately obvious sign of this attachment to an outworn English tradition is the use, which is still wellnigh universal on the West Coast, of the old 'standards' classification. Infants are organized in 'classes', but juniors are organized in 'standards'. This organization is based on the assumptions that the function of the primary school is to insert a certain definite corpus of factual knowledge into all children; that this corpus of knowledge can be easily divided into smaller units each of which can be inserted into a child in a year; and that each child can and should assimilate each of these annual units at the same age and at the same pace as all other children. The vast majority of those concerned with primary education on the West Coast base their actions on the validity of these assumptions—from the administrator who decides the corpus of knowledge to be inserted into Standard I, through the training colleges, to the teacher actively engaged in the insertion of this knowledge into his passive class. The effect of the 'standards' organization is perhaps most strikingly shown in those schools—and there are a surprising number of them—in which the infant classes are working with outstanding success on individual activity lines, but nothing of this is allowed to spread into the Standard I, where there is an abrupt change to the most rigid methods of class instruction.

101. If education is to be recognized as a process of growth, the first essential is to get rid of this term 'standard' and of the rigid organization and attitude of mind which the use of this term inevitably induces. It may be argued that the education and training of the majority of the teachers now serving in primary schools is so defective that the most detailed guidance and control of all they do is essential, and that it would be useless to expect them to adopt methods which involved some consideration of the children in their classes as developing individuals. This may well justify for some time to come the giving of detailed suggestions which the majority of teachers will in fact follow; but it does not justify the perpetuation of a system of school organization which encourages rigidity and makes it exceptionally difficult for a teacher who wishes to use his initiative to do so.

102. The reform of the curriculum which is so much needed does not necessarily involve the introduction of any new subjects which seem to be particularly important or valuable in African conditions. It must be accompanied by a reform of organization and of teaching methods, and the need for this is recognized by many African teachers and school managers. The first of these reforms will make possible, and the second will make inevitable, a review of the material from which the curriculum is built. And review would almost certainly lead to changes in at least two directions. In the first place, the general balance of the curriculum would be altered. The present heavy emphasis on the three R's taught in isolation from all other subjects would tend to be replaced by an emphasis on the use of the three R's in a wide range of children's activities embracing all subjects. Secondly, there would be a drastic pruning of the material at present included in the subject syllabuses. It is an astonishing fact that, judged by most of the subject syllabuses at present in use in primary schools on the West Coast, the African child is expected to cover more ground in less time than his English cousin; and, moreover, is expected to give his attention to some of the more arid

details of formal English and arithmetic which, to the infinite relief of all concerned, disappeared from the syllabuses of English primary schools many years ago.

103. A really searching review of this kind should clear the way for the building up of syllabuses which the average African child, in the conditions now obtaining in the average African school, could hope to cover with real understanding. These syllabuses would almost certainly differ in many respects from those generally found in English primary schools. The differences would reflect the profound differences in environment and background which have up to now been so largely ignored but which must be allowed to influence every aspect of the curriculum if the lessons learnt in school are to have more than a superficial influence on the children.

104. The schools are often blamed because, it is said, they teach children to despise any kind of manual work. Contempt for manual work is certainly widespread, and it is true that the schools, with their very bookish approach to learning, have up to now done very little to counteract this; but the root cause lies outside the school in the general economic conditions which have up to now rewarded mere literacy so generously that it has come to be regarded as inevitably entitling the literate to a standard of life far higher than the illiterate can hope for, however hard they may work and however great their skill. As these conditions pass—and there are already signs that the skilled craftsman is beginning to come into his own—the schools will find a reader audience for the doctrine which, to do them justice, the best schools have always tried to spread, that literacy is not enough. But it must be remembered that respect for the work of the hands and pride in doing something as a member of a team cannot be taught theoretically. They will thrive not on exhortation but on example and practice. And it is not enough to introduce a few periods labelled 'handwork' or 'farming' into the time-table. This will do nothing to remove the distinction between 'lessons'—English, arithmetic, history, and so on—which are learnt sitting passively in a desk, and 'work' which is something demanding movement and physical exertion and which anybody who is good at 'lessons' can afford to look down on and hope later to avoid. It is in the English and arithmetic and history 'lessons' that the distinction between 'learning' and 'doing' must be broken down. If the primary schools are to play their full part in educating a people to a just appreciation of the work of the hands, it is a change in general teaching methods more than a change in the time-table that is needed.

105. It is perhaps inevitable that talk of the need for a change in teaching methods should give the impression that there are two entirely distinct methods of teaching—the old and the new—that these two methods have nothing in common, and that if there is to be a change it must be a sudden and complete revolution—the complete abandonment of the old and the complete acceptance of the new between one day and the next. If this were so, those would indeed be wise who maintain that, however good the new, the time to make this sudden change on the West Coast has not yet come. But in fact nothing could be further from the truth. Any change of this kind must be gradual. It must arise from the realization by the teacher that his job is to do more than instil literacy, that it is to help each individual child to make the best of himself. And

with this will come the further realization that, for this wider purpose, mere instruction will not serve; and so the teacher will begin to change his methods, to make small experiments, to feel his way step by step from his old position as instructor of a class to a new one in which he is less of an instructor than a leader, a guide, an adviser. It is a journey which the teacher can make alone, though it is better made in company; but no good can come from expecting all teachers to start it at the same time or to travel at the same pace.

106. This change in teaching methods depends partly on an improvement in teaching conditions; for even the most able teachers would find that the conditions which exist in many schools—particularly the lack of independent class-rooms—made anything but the most formal class instruction wellnigh impossible. But the change depends mainly on the teachers. It depends on a steady stream of teachers coming into the schools who add to the zeal and enthusiasm of the teachers already there a far wider education and a more thorough training than the vast majority of the present teachers have received.

The Relationship between Primary Education and Agriculture

107. If the schools are not to be entirely divorced from the life and work of the people they must see to it that the work that goes on in the classroom draws meaning and colour from the activities of the community. It is, therefore, right and natural that, in areas which are predominantly agricultural, the schools should by what they do and the way they do it help to spread knowledge of, and respect for, the life and ways of the country-side. Most schools have recognized this and their answer has been to introduce 'farming' into the time-table as the main—often the only—practical activity. Some practical work connected with the cultivation of the land, the growing of crops, and the care of stock should certainly have a place in any country school; but it will have little effect on the minds of the pupils unless what they do outside is linked with what they do in the classroom and material brought in from the farm or garden is used as the basis for work in the classroom, and unless skill and knowledge acquired in the classroom are used to help in solving the problems outside it. It ought not to be possible to find English and arithmetic and history and geography and nature study and art taught in such a way that it is impossible to tell from examining the syllabus or the children's books, or from listening to the lessons, whether the school is serving an urban or a rural population. And yet this is precisely what is happening in countless schools up and down the West Coast.

108. The nature and the purpose of the practical work carried out on the school farm or garden need to be thought out very carefully. The amount of land taken into cultivation and the nature of the crops grown should be regulated in the first instance by the number and the age of the children who will have to carry out the work. Most country children are closely acquainted by their parents at home with the virtue of hard manual work on the land and with the routine growing of the common food crops of the area. To force these same children when they come to school to labour in the same way to grow the same crops is not only a scandalous waste of valuable time but is also a very sure way of inculcating a profound and abiding dislike

of life on the land. There is a great opportunity here for close co-operation, to their mutual profit, between the departments of education and agriculture. The new Nigerian rural science syllabus has obviously been based on a great deal of careful thinking from the point of view not only of the agriculturist but also of the schools, and gives a very healthy lead to the development of rural studies in schools. It is a lead that other territories might well follow.

The Language Problem

109. There may be many different reasons why parents on the West Coast send their children to school, but there is one reason which is wellnigh universal—to learn how to speak and read and write in English. On the other hand, the great majority of children have no English at all when they come to school. From these two facts it follows that the first contacts with the children in school should, whenever possible, be made through the language of the home, and that all-round proficiency in English is the most important academic aim of the primary course. Over the necessity for the progression from the vernacular at the beginning of the course to English at the end of it there is little controversy, but over the stages by which this progression should be accomplished there is much argument and great need for experiment and investigation.

110. Should the vernacular be the medium of instruction throughout the basic primary course, with English taught as a subject? Or should the vernacular give way to English as the medium of instruction at some stage during the course, and if so, at what stage? Or should English be regarded as the medium of instruction throughout the whole course, the vernacular being used merely as a means of establishing contact in the early stages, and thereafter treated as a subject of instruction or even allowed to fade quietly out of the picture? Arguments can be produced to support every one of these arrangements, and it certainly cannot be maintained that practical experiment and experience has proved any one of these courses to be universally superior to the others. It may well be that children will be able to read and write English at the end of the primary course better if they have first been taught to read and write in the vernacular; but in the absence of comparative experiments the mere assertion that this is so ought not to be accepted as proof.

111. Most of the four-year primary courses do at present lay down the vernacular as the medium of instruction for the whole of the course, with English to be introduced as a subject of instruction towards the middle of the course and thereafter given increasing attention. It is, however, significant that in the great majority of schools spoken English is introduced much earlier and used much more extensively than is laid down in the syllabus. It is, indeed, quite common to hear a lot of English spoken by both teachers and children during the first year of the course. Whatever be the official policy over reading and writing, there is little doubt that the early mixing of the vernacular and English in oral work is to be encouraged and that the practice of the teachers is in this matter more enlightened than the syllabus.

112. However strong the arguments in favour of vernacular medium instruction may be in areas where there is one dominant vernacular, they lose their force in areas

where there is not a dominant vernacular and there is therefore no one language known to all the children when they come to school. In these circumstances can it be right—as is commonly done—to make all the children learn one common vernacular to be used thereafter as the medium of instruction? Might it not in these circumstances be better to go straight for English as the common language? The arguments advanced against the use of English and in favour of teaching a common vernacular seem, at least to the stranger, singularly unconvincing, and there are in fact many teachers with direct experience of the language problem who do not accept these arguments. In these mixed areas the need for experiments designed to find out the best way of tackling the language problem in the schools is particularly urgent.

113. One of the strongest arguments against the teaching of reading in the vernacular is the scarcity of reading-matter available in any vernacular. It is no use teaching people to read if, when they have learnt, there is nothing for them to read; and until comparatively recently this had been an argument that could justly be levelled against vernacular instruction in all the territories. As the result of much devoted pioneering effort a certain amount of reading-matter is now available in the few really dominant vernaculars. But unless the range and amount of vernacular literature is vastly and rapidly increased it will be necessary to reconsider the whole policy of vernacular education.

Standards

114. Judged purely on formal attainments—that is on such things as handwriting and facts and rules learnt—the standard in many West Coast schools is surprisingly high. The pupils are eager to learn and apply themselves to their labours with admirable persistence. The problem of class discipline simply does not arise. The dulllest lesson, which would produce riot and commotion if inflicted on a class of English children, is received with profound attention. The teachers are most conscientious, but many of them are teaching at the very limit of their own knowledge, and very few indeed have had enough education to enable them to venture far away from the support of the textbook and the syllabus. They therefore, quite understandably, stick to the things that they know they can do. They drill their classes in the rules of arithmetic and English grammar, in tables, and in definitions, and they instruct them in the facts of such subjects as history and geography. And their pupils listen and memorize and practise until their drill and their knowledge of the facts are wellnigh perfect. But if they are asked to think for themselves, to apply their rules to some everyday situation, to reason from the facts—in short to make some connexion between the things they have been instructed in and reality—they are lost. The boy who has been working sums in yards and feet and inches for weeks but who has no idea whether his desk is 4 inches wide or 4 feet wide or four yards wide; the girl who cannot speak or write a correct sentence of her own in English but who will gaily rattle off a definition of an intransitive verb or a gerund; the boy who knows that the Stockton and Darlington railway was opened in 1825 but has no idea what a railway is like—all these are familiar figures to anyone who visits West African schools. It is probably true that the average African child after, say, four years in school has imbibed more factual knowledge than

his English counterpart; it is certain that he has gained less understanding. The general standard in such things as art, craftwork, music, and physical training is very low indeed. This is partly because so few of the teachers as yet have the specialized knowledge and skill which is necessary if these subjects are to be well taught, and partly, perhaps, because of the surprising neglect of the roots which all these activities have in African culture, and the resulting attempt to build them up on an alien English foundation. But though the general standard is low, some schools are doing work of real quality in the Arts and it is to be hoped that from these will spread a sounder tradition.

115. In maintaining and raising standards it would be hard to over-emphasize the influence that can be exerted by a few really good schools—schools which are right ahead of current practice in their own area, which can serve at once as a model and an inspiration. Sometimes an outstanding school of this kind will develop from the vision and drive and determination of the head teacher without any outside encouragement or any specially favoured treatment. Anyone who visits schools must have come across that amazing power which can inspire a collection of mediocre individuals and weld them together into an outstanding staff, producing as a team results which seem far beyond the reach of any individual member of the team. But in the conditions now prevailing on the West Coast, outstanding schools are unlikely to develop, and those few that do will tend to disintegrate as the members of the staff are moved away to new schools, unless a deliberate policy is adopted of building up a few good schools by concentrating good teachers in them. One of the wisest provisions in the Gold Coast Accelerated Development Plan for Education is that which seeks to preserve the standards in the best schools by preventing the wholesale dispersal of their trained staffs. The lack of any such policy in Eastern Nigeria has tended to produce a dead level of staffing dilution, which may be fair, but which is going to make the struggle to raise standards all the more difficult owing to the lack of good schools to act as growing points.

Accommodation

116. In the larger towns most of the school buildings are poor and are made even worse by overcrowding. In many the teaching conditions are so bad as to make anything but rigid class instruction almost impossible; for it is futile to expect a teacher to attempt more free and active methods if he is one of six or seven all teaching against each other in one large individual room. These buildings are generally old and many conformed to the standards which were regarded as adequate when they were built. They were the pioneering efforts and have given many years of invaluable service, but they are now out of date. In all these towns the replacement of existing accommodation which is really unfit for use is as urgent a problem as the provision of additional accommodation. It is a problem which is beginning to be tackled in such places as Accra and Ibadan.

117. Outside the towns, where developments are generally more recent, conditions are generally better. There are great variations, but so far as new schools are concerned certain minimum standards are becoming generally recognized as desirable and are being increasingly widely enforced. Most new schools provide a separate

room for each class, though partitions are not always taken right up to the roof as they should be. Some storage space is now generally provided, but not enough. In addition to a general school store there should be some storage space available for every class-room, whether it takes the form of a separate store, a store shared between two or three rooms, or built-in cupboards within the class-room.

118. The actual planning and layout of the school buildings do not appear to have received much attention. The two-class school is, of course, a fairly simple problem, though even here co-operation between educationist and architect might well produce a more convenient and pleasanter-looking building without adding to the cost. With the larger schools the need for this co-operation is very clear. These larger schools are all too often just a number of boxes strung together. The unit is the class-room and a school is built by repeating this unit the appropriate number of times. The result is a building which is ugly and inconvenient, which is not the home of a school but a number of homes for a number of separate classes which, though for administrative convenience collected together and called a school, are not expected to have any collective school life. In all the territories there is need for investigation into the principles of school planning from the point of view both of the educationist and of the architect, and for the issue of detailed advice and suggestions on the planning and construction of school buildings. This might well be done by a team drawn from all the territories, for most of the problems are common ones. The building bulletins issued during the last few years by the Ministry of Education in England will give an idea of the kind of problems to be tackled and of the general lines on which a solution of these problems might be sought.

Furniture

119. Much space and timber is often wasted and discomfort caused by the provision of furniture which is much larger and more heavily built than it need be. Standard designs are available in some territories, but even these are not always good. There is an urgent need for the production of a series of designs for school furniture of all kinds—chairs, tables, desks, cupboards, and so on. The essentials would seem to be strength, lightness, simplicity of construction, pleasant lines, and a wide range of sizes to suit the wide range of size in children and rooms. This might well be a matter to engage the attention of an inter-territorial committee on which administrators, teachers, craftsmen, and architects should all be represented.

Materials

120. In all the territories the supply of the essential equipment, materials, and textbooks is poor. There is not enough, and much that finds its way into the schools is unsuitable. The amount of money available for the purchase of teachers' books, essential teaching materials, and the like is generally inadequate. It is true that many of the things which are provided in English schools often have to be bought and brought to school by the children in West Africa, and that therefore the *per capita* cost of teaching materials provided by the school may be less than the cost in England. But it is important that a definite sum per head should be available each year, and that this sum should be fixed after a detailed investigation into the cost of

providing all the materials required, deducting from this total cost the cost of those things which it is considered reasonable that the children should buy for themselves.

Reading-Books

121. The shortage of vernacular reading-matter has already been mentioned. The shortage of English reading-books in the schools is nearly as acute and is far more harmful. It is also quite inexcusable; for, unlike the vernacular books, which have still to be written, many suitable English books already exist, and the schools could be well supplied. If this shortage of books were recognized as what it certainly is—the most serious and widespread material defect of all those which afflict the primary schools on the West Coast—it would quickly be remedied.

Textbooks

122. An increasing number of textbooks is now appearing which bear at least the outward signs of having been produced specially for the West Coast; and some of these books are very good. There are also some books—particularly general readers—which, though not produced specially for the West Coast market, are nevertheless quite suitable for it. But most of the textbooks at present in use in the schools are roundly and rightly condemned as unsuitable by informed African opinion both inside and outside the schools. There appear to be two main faults. Some textbooks which are in common use in English schools and which appear at first sight to fit the West Coast syllabus in fact prove unsuitable because they assume a background of knowledge which the English child has and the African child has not. For instance, the English child takes such things as railways, barley, coal, telephones, apples, and snow in his stride—he has seen and knows them all. But to the African child some, or all, of these things may be nothing more than names. And then there are books which are said to be written for West African schools but are in fact written down to them. The whole problem of the production and supply of textbooks is a difficult one which will not be solved quickly. It is encouraging that the problem is being given increasing attention by people who are directly concerned with education on the West Coast. In this connexion the exploratory work of the Institute of Education of the University College of the Gold Coast may prove particularly valuable.

123. The pupils have normally to provide their own textbooks and much of their own stationery. This places a considerable extra burden—beyond the school fees—on the pockets of the parents, and often leads to considerable difficulty. It is not uncommon to find that less than half the children in a class have copies of the textbooks in use. It may well be impracticable to make a sudden change to a system in which the essential books are loaned to the children by the school, but sooner or later this change must surely come. Meanwhile, there is one change which could be made comparatively quickly and which would certainly ease the burden on at least some parents. It is a common practice at present for the children to buy what they need in the way of books and stationery at one of the mission bookshops, which in many places have a virtual monopoly of this trade. The children, of course, pay retail prices. If an Education Department were to make

bulk purchases covering the needs of all the schools in its area, as is already done for some Government schools through the Crown Agents, it would be possible to supply the children with what they need very much more cheaply. It is understood that proposals for arrangements of this kind have been considered in some places but have come to nothing.

The Pace and Stages of Development

124. From the strictly educational point of view it would clearly be most advantageous if there could be a steady spread of schools through all the stages from no education to universal education, the actual pace of the development being governed by the supply of trained teachers, of good buildings and equipment, and teaching materials. In practice, political and economic considerations cannot be ignored and may indeed often have a controlling influence on educational development. There will almost always be political pressure on the educationists to go faster than they think is wise and to sacrifice quality to quantity. And this political pressure is none the less real because it often comes from outside and is exerted not by people who demand education for themselves but by people who demand education for others whom they regard as backward. Thus, much of the pressure for the rapid development of educational facilities in advance of the local demand in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and in Northern Nigeria is external and comes from Ashanti and Southern Nigeria and from outside Africa. Against this political pressure intended to make the educationist go faster than he thinks wise, the effect of economic pressure is generally to make him go slower than he wants to.

125. The result of all these, often conflicting, influences is that the pace of development is uneven; and it is right that this should be so, for education is only one element of many in a complicated process of social change. It does seem possible, however, to discern three main changes of pace in the march towards literacy of an illiterate farming community.

126. In the first stage, when education is being introduced, it is bound to be regarded as a means of escape from the hard and primitive conditions of the life of subsistence farming; for while the number of the schooled is very small, schooling is a passport to employment outside agriculture—generally clerical employment. The leaders of the community tend to distrust and oppose an influence which turns young men away from the land and so seems to threaten the very existence of the community. But so long as the numbers are very small and the products of the

schools are readily absorbed into employment the life of the community is not seriously disrupted. But a rapid increase in the numbers would—and does—threaten the stability of the community by withdrawing essential labour from the land and by turning out from the schools more boys expecting outside employment than there is employment for. As one enlightened chief put it: 'If universal primary education were introduced at once, Sierra Leone would be dead in a year—we would starve.' During the first period, therefore, it might well be disastrous to force the pace of educational development. It must be kept in step with economic development. This stage of slow development should probably last until about 20 per cent. of the children are in school. It is likely to be followed by a period of mass demand for education, which seems to be closely linked with the introduction of cash crops or with industrialization. This is the dangerous period. Education has ceased to be an automatic passport to well-paid employment but has not yet come to be accepted as a normal thing for everybody. This stage, which probably lasts until something like 80 per cent. of the children are in school, is one to pass through as quickly as possible. When once the great majority of the children are in school and education has become something which the normal child has as a matter of course, the period of acute pressure is probably over and the last stage, from majority attendance to universal compulsory attendance can be covered slowly. If this picture be accepted it suggests that development up to about 20 per cent. attendance should be relatively slow with plans laid well ahead so as to provide a sound basis for the next stage, which should be one of the rapidest possible controlled expansion up to about 80 per cent. attendance. Judged by area, the greater part of the West Coast territories has not yet passed beyond the first stage. An analysis of the desirable stages of development may seem a purely academic exercise for those who, in areas like Ashanti and Eastern Nigeria, have been fighting to control the flood which followed the release of the pent-up demand at the end of the war. In these areas the urgent need is to reassert sound standards, not only for the benefit of the children directly concerned, but also lest the present standards serve as an example to other areas and come to be accepted as reasonable objectives. But over the greater part of West Africa there is still a breathing-space before the mass demand for education comes and makes rapid expansion essential. Successful expansion when the time comes will largely depend on plans laid now and particularly on plans for the training of teachers; for expansion of teacher training must precede by some years the expansion of the schools.

4. SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Organization of Secondary Education

127. Apart from one fairly old-established technical school and two which are just developing, and a number of trade training centres which, though not properly a part of secondary education, can conveniently be considered with it, secondary education through the West Coast territories is confined to the courses of the 'gram-

mar' type leading to—and very occasionally beyond—the Cambridge School Certificate. The name 'secondary school' is strictly reserved for schools of this type. Entry to these schools is by selective examinations which are highly competitive. Until recently it was probably inevitable that attainment irrespective of age should be the deciding factor in selection, but most secondary schools

are now reducing the age-range of their entrants and are tending to give preference to the younger applicants. The problem of selecting on ability rather than on attainment has not yet been seriously tackled in any of the territories, and the selection examinations as at present conducted are most unsatisfactory. It is not easy to decide how much the selection is affected by financial considerations. There is no doubt that in certain areas a number of promising pupils who are successful in the examination either do not take up the places they have won or leave prematurely owing to inability to pay, or to continue paying, the fees and other very considerable expenses of a secondary school; and it seems probable that some very able children do not sit for the selection examination at all owing to lack of money. Many teachers are uneasy at the increasing influence that ability to pay is having on selection, and some maintain that ability to pay has now become the dominant factor in selection. Investigation into the whole machinery and methods of selection is one of the most important and urgent problems demanding attention.

128. Most of the existing schools are mainly, if not entirely, boarding schools and are likely to remain so; for it will be many years before any but the largest towns can produce enough secondary day pupils to fill a school of reasonable size, and in the rural areas it is very doubtful if there can ever be any alternative to boarding for secondary pupils. It is true that a proposal for the establishment of fifteen day grammar schools is included in the Development Plan for the Gold Coast. Four of these are to be in large towns—three of them in Accra—and it should be possible to make all these schools at least two-form entry schools, and so avoid the inevitable seesaw between extravagance and inefficiency which faces the one-form entry school. The remaining eleven schools are to be in smaller towns and most, if not all, will have to be one-form entry schools. This is unfortunate. From the educational point of view a smaller number of larger schools, which would probably have to be partly boarding, would prove much more efficient. This conflict between size and number is not confined to the Gold Coast. It is already evident in Eastern Nigeria, and will sooner or later have to be faced in all the territories as the demand for secondary education grows.

129. There seems to be a real danger that in an effort to spread secondary provision as widely as possible and to give to as many places as possible the satisfaction of being able to talk about 'our school', a large amount of money and, what is far worse, of teaching power will be wasted by the opening of a large number of small secondary schools. It is unfortunate that local and sectarian loyalties have already in many places led to the provision of a number of small schools and are still being used to justify their continuance as separate and competing institutions in the face of the clearest educational arguments for reorganization. Free-town and Bathurst provide glaring examples of this; but they are not unique. There is no doubt that, if the quality of secondary education is to be improved or even maintained, the supply of teachers is going to be the limiting factor in the extension of secondary education in all the West Coast territories. It is, therefore, worth emphasizing that three one-form entry schools need at least five more teachers than one three-form entry school.

130. One of the inevitable by-products of the day school

on the West Coast appears to be what may be called the 'unofficial boarder'; that is to say, the child who is sent—or makes his way—into town to attend school and who obtains some sort of lodging sometimes with relations or friends, sometimes with strangers in return for making himself useful about the house. Many arrangements of this kind may be unexceptionable; but there can be no doubt that many come very near to slavery and that many children have to pay a ghastly price in squalor and servitude for their education. Most of the children concerned are probably boys, but some are girls, and for them the dangers and the possibilities of suffering are far greater. This is not a problem which can easily be solved; but it is one which the West Coast territories will continue to ignore at their peril.

131. Boarding schools are expensive both to provide and to maintain, but they do offer certain great advantages in addition to the freedom they give to decide the size of schools on educational grounds. In the social conditions now prevailing in the West African territories there can be no doubt of the immense benefit which the vast majority of pupils derive from the stable living and working conditions of a good boarding school. Furthermore, they can, by providing good material conditions and setting good social standards, do much to spread the knowledge of healthy living far beyond their own walls. It would, indeed, be hard to exaggerate the importance of the part that boarding education, even on its present small scale, has played in social development, or the opportunities which await its extension.

132. In the development of girls' education in particular boarding schools might well play a decisive part. Even where parents are convinced of the desirability of educating their girls, the dislike and mistrust (often well founded) of surrendering them to the charge of a male teacher and to the company of older boys weighs very heavily against sending them to a mixed school—at any rate at the secondary stage. The co-educational secondary school may eventually find favour on the West Coast but its time is not yet, and for many years to come single-sex schools will be essential if the education of girls is to spread. But very few places could support a girls' day secondary school of reasonable size. It would seem, therefore, that expediency dictates the boarding school as the basis for the secondary education of girls, with the addition of hostels—accompanied by a strict control of unofficial boarding—in those few places where there may be a large enough nucleus of girls to justify the starting of a day school.

Senior Primary and Middle Schools

133. The problem of the senior primary and middle schools has already been mentioned under primary education; but it is partly at least a secondary problem. The pupils in at least the upper forms of these schools are of secondary age, though the number varies in different territories. In the senior primary schools in Nigeria the great majority of children should be of primary age, for these schools, in theory, cover the age-range from nine to thirteen, and practice may be expected to draw steadily nearer to theory within the next few years. In these schools, therefore, there is a secondary element, which consists certainly of the so-called Standard VI and possibly of Standard V. In the Gold Coast the senior primary schools, which are being renamed 'middle' schools, follow after

six years' basic course and cover the age-range from about twelve to about sixteen. Most, if not all, of the children in these schools are of secondary age. Thus the Nigerian senior primary is essentially a primary school with a secondary fringe at the top, and the Gold Coast senior primary is essentially a secondary school with a primary fringe at the bottom. If they are to receive an education appropriate to their age and abilities it will be necessary to provide for the older pupils in every one of these schools some kind of secondary education which must include, among other things, a library and facilities for instruction in science, in handicraft, and in housecraft. The accommodation and equipment needed for instruction in these subjects are expensive; and the instruction must be given by specially trained teachers. It is doubtful if any of the territories could face the expenditure of men and money involved in the general provision of these facilities in all senior primary schools. It is certain that no territory could face this expenditure without drastically restricting not only the extension of genuine secondary education, but also the improvement of the existing secondary schools, and it is on this extension and improvement that the future development of the territories largely depends. This seems to have been recognized in the Gold Coast and the Development Plan, while accepting in principle that their senior primary schools are really secondary schools, gives them the name of 'middle' to show that they are transitional, and makes it clear that money from central funds will not be available for the development of these schools until the prior claims of basic primary and of secondary grammar and technical have been met.

134. The middle schools in Northern Nigeria are in a very different category. As their name implies, their original purpose was to provide a four-year course between the four-year primary course and a four-year secondary grammar course leading to the School Certificate. For a number of reasons the organization never in fact developed and recruitment for the secondary grammar schools has been from Form Middle II—that is at the end of the second year of the middle school course. This has greatly hampered their growth, but in spite of this they have developed a character and a purpose that the senior primaries have not. This may be partly because there are not very many of these schools, they are heavily selective, and their products readily absorbed into the services of the Native Administration. If they could get rid of the selection for grammar schools which now splits their course in two, they would be in a position to develop into really good secondary schools. As has already been suggested, the lengthening of the basic primary course to five years should make it possible to make the main selection for secondary grammar schools at the same time as the selection for the middle schools. The middle schools would then be free to develop a four-year secondary course which would not be tied to the needs of another school or the demands of an external examination, but which would aim at providing the best all-round training for boys who would at the end of it be going back to work among their own people. This course would not preclude boys who had followed it from going on to some form of further education or training, but so long as the great majority of boys finish their education in the middle school, the course should be planned to meet their needs. On their present performance the middle

schools of Northern Nigeria are better schools than any but a handful of secondary grammar schools in the south; and they have immense possibilities. It would certainly be tragic if pressure from the south were to lead to the inflation on the north of senior primary schools on the southern model.

135. The central schools which are just beginning in Sierra Leone have much in common with the middle schools of Northern Nigeria—not so much with what the middle schools were intended to be but with what they in fact are and with the lines on which they seem likely to develop. But it is necessary to emphasize that these schools, whether they be called middle or central, are in fact secondary schools and that secondary education cannot be provided on the cheap just by changing a name. If these schools are to have a chance of realizing their possibilities they must be equipped and staffed as secondary schools.

Alternative Forms of Secondary Education

136. The provision of secondary education of reasonable quality—of whatever type—must be based at least for some years to come on a solid core of expatriate teachers. Furthermore, the replacement of these expatriates by Africans will be possible only when the secondary schools themselves are producing a large enough number of good-quality entrants to establishments of higher education for there to be a steady flow from these establishments into the teaching profession. A system of secondary education based on expatriate teachers must be so expensive that it must always remain a selective minority system. On the other hand, a secondary system which was not built on this basis would, in the present conditions on the West Coast, be so bad as to be not worth having.

137. One of the biggest dangers threatening the healthy growth of education on the West Coast is that the demand for secondary education will be met by the opening of new so-called secondary schools which have neither the staff nor the buildings which are essential if the pupils are to receive a proper secondary education. In both these matters the laying down and enforcing of sound minimum standards is essential. To lay down standards which are not always enforced and which, even if they were, are so low as to give a cloak of rectitude to schools the very existence of which is in fact a scandal, may produce a temporary slackening of political pressure but must produce ultimate educational disaster.

138. It therefore seems inevitable that for many years to come secondary education in the West Coast territories will be heavily selective and will be restricted to a small minority of the children who reach the end of the primary stage. It can be assumed that this selected minority will be aiming at a fairly clearly defined range of occupation in the professions, in the Government service both administrative and technical, in teaching, and in the middle ranges of industry and commerce; and further, that the selection will in fact—probably also in intention—restrict the numbers entering on a course of secondary education in quality to those who seem likely to fill posts of this kind satisfactorily and in quantity to those for whom posts of this kind seem likely to be available. It will certainly be many years before any of the territories should attempt the provision of secondary education for the great unselected majority

of pupils who have no great academic or technical ability, who have not yet decided on their vocations, who are likely to enter vocations which do not require for entry any special educational attainments and who are, on the whole, unlikely to cross the barrier which divides the weekly wage-earner from the man or woman with a salary.

139. There is an immediate and growing need for the development of other types of selective secondary education to supplement the existing grammar type. The need for more technical education within the school system is generally admitted and this need can probably best be met by the provision of secondary technical schools and by development of vocational schools on the lines of the existing trade training centres. The technical schools, while providing a general education broadly comparable in quality to that provided in the grammar schools, would pay more attention to appropriate science, and possibly to mathematics, and to practical work in wood and metal, and, possibly, to agriculture. The vocational schools or trade training centres, while not entirely neglecting general education, would devote the greater part of their time to definite trade training in building, in engineering of all kinds, in agriculture, and in commercial subjects. The immediate object of these centres would be to provide apprenticeship training for boys intending to become skilled artisans; but their existence ought not to prejudice or delay the development of real apprenticeship schemes within the various trades. As these schemes are developed it will be necessary to modify the function of the trade training centres to fit into the general pattern of apprenticeship training in the territories.

140. The whole field of technical and vocational education has up to now been regarded as an exclusively male preserve; it was—and is—boys' education only. The need for similar types of education for girls has been steadily growing for some time and can no longer be ignored. Very little has so far been done to explore the possibilities of careers for girls—apart from teaching and nursing. But there obviously are possibilities in clerical work, cookery, laundry-work, dressmaking, and so on. That careers of this kind are now regarded as possible for African girls marks the beginning of a change in the whole conception of the place of women and girls in African society. One of the most important tasks now confronting education departments on the West Coast is that of anticipating the demands which this change will make upon them.

141. It is impossible to define the exact nature and function of secondary technical schools or of trade training centres without reference to the conditions of trade and industry in the country concerned. These conditions vary from place to place and will change with time, and the schools and centres must move with them. The technical school at Takoradi and the trade centres in the Gold Coast, in Nigeria, and at Bathurst, all provide examples of institutions which are clearly meeting the present needs of the communities they serve, but it would be disastrous if, because they are obviously doing valuable work at the moment, it were to be assumed that they ought to go on doing just that work in just that way for ever.

The Secondary Curriculum

142. The Cambridge School Certificate Examination dominates the curriculum of the secondary schools on the West Coast far more completely than the various School

Certificate examinations ever dominated the English grammar schools. There are a number of reasons for this. The pioneering days of secondary education on the West Coast are still a recent memory and the schools are not yet sure enough of their own standards to carry on without constant comparison with English standards. The gaining of a School Certificate by anyone with the background of the average African boy or girl is in fact a very real achievement. The School Certificate is a talisman ensuring for its holder employment so much more stable and so much more richly rewarded than any which could otherwise be expected that it is not surprising to find that the majority of pupils have eyes and ears and minds for nothing else. And finally, many of the teachers are themselves teaching at the very limit of their own knowledge and have neither the learning nor the confidence to venture far from the support of the syllabus and the textbook. This state of absolute subservience to an examination is probably an inevitable stage in the development of secondary education on the West Coast, and as long as it is clearly recognized as a stage to be passed through, and does not come to be regarded as the right and natural thing, there is no great cause for alarm. But there is obviously a danger where, as on the West Coast, the School Certificate has a considerable commercial value, that the demand for School Certificate at any price may not only encourage a far more rapid expansion of secondary education, so called, than is consistent with the maintenance of reasonable minimum standards in staffing, equipment, and buildings, but also lead to a disastrous narrowing of the curriculum. Because the literary subjects are less exacting in their demands than science and practical subjects—for they require no special equipment and anybody tends to think himself capable of imparting at least an examination knowledge of them—secondary education in all the territories has always had a strong literary tinge and may well become very heavily overweighted on the literary side. This tendency is already clearly showing itself in many of the private secondary schools which have sprung up in those areas where the demand for secondary education is most insistent. When this tendency is combined—as it often is—with complete neglect of subjects like physical education, music, art, and craftwork which, because they have little or no examination value, are regarded as frills, the result is a secondary curriculum so distorted and unbalanced as to be a real menace to education.

143. On this question of balanced curriculum the better schools—Government and mission—are now giving a reasonable lead. A number of schools now have outstandingly good facilities for the teaching of science. The science accommodation recently provided for a number of schools at Cape Coast in the Gold Coast is magnificent, and there are other schools in the Gold Coast—and in Nigeria—where the accommodation for science would be the envy of many English grammar schools. In these schools the charge of undue concentration on linguistic studies no longer holds. There is, too, some exceptionally good work being done in art and craft. Here again the Cape Coast schools deserve mention—and Achimota is, of course, outstanding. But in the majority of schools very little is done and that little is poor, and even in those schools where the work is good it is too often regarded as an appropriate activity only for the few and specially gifted.

144. One of the most serious weaknesses of the secondary curriculum is the lack of alternatives offered in the later—fourth or fifth—years of the course. During the first three or four years a broad general course is desirable with mainly the same fare for everybody. But after that it is most desirable to offer alternative courses to suit different interests and aptitudes. The development of options within the existing schools will go some of the way towards meeting this weakness, although it cannot provide the whole answer. In all the territories there is a clear need for the development of schools providing courses which in their later years break right away from the strongly linguistic basis of the traditional grammar-school curriculum and give much more attention to mathematics, to science, and to a wide range of practical activities for both boys and girls. Some of these schools may be tied to the School Certificate, but others will wish to develop more fully on the technical side and will wish to be free of the limits imposed by the School Certificate. They may take alternative technical examinations or the examination for the General Certificate of Education or special examinations devised on the Coast to meet the needs of the Coast, or even just their own internally set tests and examinations. The important thing is that the course, however it may be tested and assessed, should be directly geared to the opportunities for employment and for further education.

145. One of the complaints most commonly made against the curriculum for pupils in their 'teens, as against the primary curriculum, is that it is bookish and useless—too little related to the lives of the pupils outside the classroom, and useless as a preparation for the lives which the pupils will lead after they have left school. There is some truth in this complaint, but the remedy lies as much in changing the treatment of subjects which are already given a place in the time-table as in introducing subjects which are at present lacking. There is still a tendency for some people to regard education as being degraded by contact with utility, and for others to look askance at any practical education which introduces the pupils to labour-saving devices or to any sort of equipment which is in advance of what is already in the pupils' homes. Both these tendencies are particularly relevant to the spread of the education of girls.

146. It is doubtful if the present curriculum outside the three R's is sufficiently useful or attractive to the African girl. Domestic science centres, where they exist, are good and the teaching in them is often quite first-rate; but the equipment, though rightly based on 'native conditions', is too often restricted to the traditional and the known, and the girl is seldom introduced to more modern equipment which could be used in native conditions and which would save labour and make easier—and so encourage—a greater variety of diet. Sewing is well taught on the whole but within narrow limits which tend to make it dull; and the lessons in so-called child care, home craft, hygiene, and so on are even more dull and bookish. They are too much concerned with theories and first principles which may answer the question, 'Why?' But the African girl is much more concerned with the answers to the question, 'How?' She needs to know much more practical first aid and home nursing—how to treat a baby who has rolled into a fire rather than how to distinguish between gonorrhoea and syphilis.

147. It is still far too generally assumed that formal class instruction is the natural—indeed the best—way of teaching, whatever the subject; and this leads not only to a theoretical treatment of the subject—the endless transcription of notes is one symptom of this—but also to an attitude of mind which sees nothing incongruous in lessons on, say, the climate of Italy or the care of the feet, being word for word the same whether these lessons are to be given to old or to young, to European or African, in England or in Nigeria. It is this attitude of mind that accounts for much of the theoretical teaching of what should be essentially practical subjects and for the ready acceptance of syllabuses imported without modification from abroad in such subjects as physical training.

Boarding Accommodation

148. At their best—as in Adisadel Boys' and Wesley Girls' Schools at Cape Coast—the boarding conditions are reasonably good, but the average is depressingly low, and at their worst the conditions are appallingly grim and squalid. The cost of the best boarding accommodation is, of course, very great, and a policy of insisting on nothing but the best would in fact limit the amount of boarding accommodation which could be provided to next to nothing in comparison with the demand. But it ought to be possible to maintain satisfactory minimum standards without pushing the cost too high, and it is certain that the present average conditions could be improved in many ways without greatly adding to the cost. For expense is not the only limiting influence. An honest attempt not to 'unsettle' the children or 'take them too far out of their environment' has too often led to the provision by Government and missions alike of such a bare minimum of equipment that many of the children have little opportunity to learn how to raise standards in their own homes later on. It seems to have been forgotten that, with the gradual changeover to a cash economy, many Africans now have money to spend on their own homes and what they need is someone to help them with ideas. Moreover, a growing minority of the children sent to boarding schools are the grandchildren of educated Africans and are accustomed to far better standards at home than those they find in the schools. There is a risk of 'unsettling' children by accustoming them to living conditions which are utterly different from and far above anything that they can hope to achieve themselves later on, but it is not a risk which the schools on the West Coast are in any serious danger of running. The more immediate danger is that the schools may be scared, by talk of 'unsettling' the children, into missing the great opportunity they have of raising standards not only of hygiene but also of civilized living.

Teaching Accommodation and Equipment

149. The classrooms are generally satisfactory, but much of the furniture they contain is inconvenient and unnecessarily cumbersome. The steady improvement in the provision of accommodation for science has already been mentioned. Not all the schools have art rooms or workshops—or indeed any special accommodation for practical work, and where accommodation is provided it is often very poor. Many of the so-called workshops are little more than dilapidated sheds, crudely furnished and equipped. On the other hand, some of the practical accom-

modation recently provided is quite first-rate, as can be seen in the layout and equipment of the workshops in the secondary technical school at Takoradi and in the trade training centres in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria. The new handicraft centres which are being built in Nigeria to serve the senior primary schools, though well built, are not so satisfactory. The rooms are of adequate size, but the benches are larger than they need be, with the result that the rooms are overcrowded and lack essential working space. These centres are also very short of storage space. The importance of relating the size and shape of a room to its function, and to the amount, size, and shape of the furniture and equipment to be placed in it, does not appear to have been generally recognized. A thorough investigation of this problem would almost certainly result in more efficient and economical school buildings. A good deal of useful information has been collected during recent years in England and would be available as a basis for such an investigation; but the great differences in climatic and other conditions make it unlikely that the accommodation and furniture found suitable in England will be equally suitable in Africa.

150. One of the essentials of any secondary school is a library. Quite a number of schools on the West Coast now have good libraries but many have not, and a wide extension of library facilities is an urgent need. The provision of special library rooms in all schools must take time and many schools will have to continue to improvise accommodation for books in class-rooms, halls and so on. But lack of special accommodation ought not to delay a very substantial increase in the amount of money available to schools for the purchase both of reference books and of books for general reading.

151. This is really part of the larger problem of ensuring that the children who come to school have available to them the materials and equipment which are essential to their education. Here, as in the primary schools, there is need for an investigation into the cost of providing these essentials and into the right way of dividing the cost between the parent, who should know exactly what his obligations are in addition to the fees, and the school.

The Development of Sixth Forms

152. One of the problems which is attracting increasing attention in the West Coast territories is that of developing sixth-form work in the secondary grammar schools. A sixth form has, of course, long been a normal part of any English grammar school, but it must be remembered that the healthy development of these sixth forms in the early years of this century was made possible by very generous staffing which enabled the schools to give adequate attention to the special needs of the few pupils in the sixth form without having to draw off teaching power from the work in the main school. Furthermore, the main school courses on which these developments were based were firmly established and had already built up traditions of culture and scholarship which led on naturally to more advanced work. It is to be hoped that eventually the secondary schools on the West Coast will develop sixth forms. But first things must come first. The great majority of schools have at present some way to go before they have enough qualified and competent teachers to provide a really sound main school course. It would be disastrous if these schools were

to attempt sixth-form work, for they could do so only by weakening the main school staff, which would make the development of a sound main school course impossible.

153. In two directions at least the demand for the establishment of sixth forms at this stage may be harmful and misleading. On the one hand, it may encourage the idea that sixth-form work implies nothing more than driving a batch of pupils through the Higher School Certificate syllabus in exactly the same way as they had been driven through the School Certificate syllabus. On the other hand, it may tend to over-emphasize the difference between everything that is done at the sixth-form stage and anything that has been done before it. Thus the School Certificate comes to be regarded as a rigid barrier. On the near side the pupils follow a tightly controlled instructional course which leaves little scope and no need for intellectual effort or initiative—they just have to do what they are told. On the far side the pupil becomes an individual and suddenly begins to work on his own and to study for himself. In either case the result will be to divert attention from one of the outstanding problems confronting the West Coast grammar schools, and that is the substitution—at least in the upper forms—of pupil-learning for teacher-instruction. For those whose full-time education will end with the School Certificate it is vital that they should learn in their last year or so at school how to work on their own; and until the fifth forms are giving this kind of training the development of sixth-form work will be of little value.

154. The work of the upper forms of grammar schools is naturally of great interest to the universities and it is right that they should have some influence on this work; but it is very easy for this influence to become too powerful, as has indeed happened in England. It is to be hoped that West Coast grammar schools will manage to keep clear of this danger and to retain control of both the pace and the nature of their own development. They may well have to fight for their freedom, for there are already signs of university pressure in favour of rapid development and of attempted university dictatorship in matters of curriculum.

Examinations

155. The Cambridge School Certificate is the aim of the ordinary course in all the West Coast grammar schools. In their present stage of development it would appear to be meeting their needs reasonably well. Only a tiny minority of the children who go to school are ever concerned with the School Certificate, but all the children in the West Coast schools are far more frequently and persistently examined than is desirable. These examinations are of three main types. There are the competitive examinations used for selecting children to go on to another stage of education, such as the examinations for admission to senior primary, middle, and secondary schools. There are the examinations for certificates intended to mark the reaching of a certain standard of education, such as the various Standard IV, Standard VI, and Standard VII examinations. And lastly there are the internal school examinations, which are generally terminal and are often reinforced by monthly, fortnightly, or even weekly tests. The average child may well spend something like a third of his school life being examined or revising for an examination, and many African teachers would probably be shocked at the suggestion that examinations were not good things in

themselves but were at best necessary evils. It would be a simple matter to reduce the amount of internal examining; for that is entirely a matter for the individual school. But the other types of examination are part of a larger pattern. The 'Standard' examinations are a part of the administrative machine. Throughout the West Coast the various Government departments are the largest employers of literate labour and the terms of entry into Government service have a profound influence on—and may even control—the curriculum of the schools. From the point of view of the Government department it is convenient to define the qualifications for every post in terms of an examination certificate, but the effect of this on the schools can be quite deplorable. Many of the examinations which clutter the educational systems of the West Coast have now lost any educational justification they may once have had, and are retained in spite of their pernicious effects because they are convenient pegs on which the Government—and consequently other employers—can hang their jobs.

156. A reduction in the number of internal and 'Standard' examinations is obviously desirable, but it is equally desirable to change the character of those examinations which are retained. At present these examinations are generally difficult in the sense that they demand the maximum of factual knowledge, and easy in the sense that they do not demand any real understanding of that knowledge. They tend to be tests of memory rather than of thinking. This tendency should be reversed.

157. Finally, there are the selective examinations, of which much the most important is that for selection for secondary grammar schools. These examinations are probably the most important in the eyes of both children and teachers because of their obvious and immediate effect on the life of the individual child; they are exceptionally difficult to set and mark if they are to give accurate selection; and most of those on the West Coast are quite unreliable. They appear to be based on the entirely fallacious assumption that the harder the questions the greater the selective power of the examination is likely to be. A critical analysis of one particular examination will serve to show the common weaknesses. This examination consists of.

- (a) a combined English and arithmetic paper;
- (b) separate English and arithmetic papers;
- (c) an interview.

All the candidates take all three papers on the same day. The combined English and arithmetic paper is then used as an eliminating test and only about 25 per cent. of the candidates have their separate English and arithmetic papers looked at. The papers are set and marked by the staffs of the secondary grammar schools.

158. There are upwards of 14,000 candidates for about 800 places and these candidates range in attainment from Standard V to Standard VII, and in age from thirteen to nineteen. The examination is therefore a very formidable undertaking both in size and in complexity. It is certainly not an undertaking which it is reasonable to expect to be efficiently carried out by a few busy schoolmasters in their spare time. It is not therefore surprising to find that:

- (a) the papers are based on the principle of hard questions and lenient marking and emphasize attainment rather than ability;

- (b) no attempt is made to obtain the advice of primary school teachers as to the suitability of questions and there is no preliminary try-out;
- (c) although it is claimed that preference is given to the younger candidates, there is no information as to how this is done and it seems that any preference is given in a completely subjective or haphazard way;
- (d) there does not appear to be any detailed post-mortem. Without this it is impossible to tell the relative selective value of the English and arithmetic papers of individual questions. The effectiveness—or futility—of any part of the examination—or indeed of the whole of it—remains hidden.

159. In these circumstances the most that can be said in favour of the examination is that it selects 800 pupils who, on their attainments in English and arithmetic, appear to be fit to begin a secondary grammar course. If these 800 are also the ablest children it is due almost entirely to chance. Indeed, it would appear that the interview is the only thing that saves the examination from complete disaster, for it is only at the interview that the slightest attempt is made to sort out the really able boy, who may have been taught badly, from the well-crammed mediocrity. It must, however, be added that the written part of the examination appears to be so unreliable that a number of the ablest candidates may be eliminated at the first stage of the examination and may never get as far as the interview.

160. The problem of selection is a very difficult one and no one would claim that it has been solved in England; but a mass of experience has been gained in England during the last twenty-five years; the results of this experience are readily available and if made use of would at least enable some of the present weaknesses to be eliminated. There can be no doubt that the various selection examinations need thorough investigation and reform even if their function is to remain unaltered. In fact their function is likely to become more complicated with the development of different types of secondary education.

161. Even if the selection machinery were not too large and complicated to be run properly by the secondary schools, the control of these examinations ought not to be left in their hands. From the educational point of view there is an obvious need to bring the influence of the primary schools to bear on the setting of an examination to be taken by primary school children. From the point of view of public policy the Governments concerned should no longer avoid their responsibility for seeing that, in schools aided or maintained from public funds, selection is as uniform, as fair, and as reliable as it can be made. This might well be a matter on which co-operation between the four territories would be particularly fruitful—and economical.

162. It is perhaps inevitable in the present stage of educational development on the West Coast that the system of examinations should, at the secondary stage, be directly linked with an examining body in England and at the primary stage should be based on English models, present or past. It is obviously desirable that examinations should conform to the developing pattern of education in the schools—that they should follow and not control the curriculum. So long as the curriculum was almost entirely derived from England and took little account of the environment of the schools there was nothing acutely incon-

gruous in examinations which were similarly derived. But this stage is passing, and as education on the West Coast derives more of its life and colour from Africa and less from England, the examinations should follow suit. So far as examinations at the end of the secondary stage are

concerned this has been recognized by the setting up of the West African Examinations Council. But there is no reason why the work and influence of this council should not come to cover the whole field of examinations on the West Coast.

5. INFORMAL EDUCATION

163. On the view of education that has been expounded there must be a great deal of educational activity carried on in any progressive community outside the immediate responsibility of parents for their children or of schools for their pupils. It may be carried on by official or voluntary agencies, by individuals or by co-operative groups. It may be directed towards people of any age or of all ages; towards people generally or towards a special class such as parents. It may have as its object the enrichment of personal life, the improvement of the methods of performing the daily task, or the spread of valid ideas of personal probity and social responsibility. Many names have been used for special aspects of it—adult education, mass education, welfare education, campaigns for mass literacy, or community development. In this section the term ‘informal education’ will be used to describe these and other varieties of educational endeavour which have not yet been, and perhaps never can fully be, brought within the formal organization of an educational system. By reason of its informality this kind of education is flexible and adaptable and it has great possibilities in a developing situation such as that in West Africa.

164. Education in West Africa is both a matter of material welfare and political necessity, but there does not seem to be a full realization in all territories of the importance of giving the greatest possible attention and encouragement to adult and informal education of all types. The responsibility for informal education varies from one territory to another, but it is very important that education departments and education officers should be more closely associated with this work, at the consultative level if not in the field, and that they should encourage teachers to associate themselves with it wherever possible. The campaign for mass literacy is being used in all territories, with the possible exception of the Gambia, as a test of the Government’s sincerity, and it carries with it an emotional undertone of great intensity. The very fact that a policy of universal education cannot be realized in all four territories for some little time makes adult informal education of all kinds a matter of urgency. Neglect of this part of the educational programme is both unimaginative and wasteful, since it has been established that in every society it is impossible to educate a child far in advance of his parents without creating serious emotional tensions. It is something of a mockery, and undeniably wasteful, to teach children to read and write if when they leave school they will have no further opportunity to continue their education, if there are no societies which they may join, no opportunities to buy and borrow books, and if they and their parents are ill-fed and subject to preventable disease.

The prejudice of a mother, especially with her own daughters, will outweigh years of careful and expensive instruction.

A suggestion from the father that new ways of farming may offend local spirits of which white men know nothing will instantly destroy all the influence of an agricultural instructor. Prejudice, superstition, fear, ignorance must be attacked in their strongholds, the adult mind. (Joyce Cary, *The Case for African Freedom*, pp. 109–10.)

Varying Needs

165. In the field of informal education the needs of different geographical areas vary greatly. In the rural areas the first great problem is one of welfare education, though there is no less need for a different type of welfare education, particularly for adolescents, in the large centres of population. In cities and villages alike, much more parent education and informal adult education should be undertaken, which should go hand in hand with the campaign for mass literacy.

166. The problem is many-sided, but the needs of at least five different groups of people are particularly pressing. In the first place, what can be done for ordinary adults (the young man and woman and, above all, parents who have never been to school) to make life better, healthier, and more interesting, and to combat the present wave of materialism, irresponsibility, and wasteful living, physical, mental, and spiritual?

167. Secondly, what can be done for those children and young people who do not attend school for a variety of reasons, some because their parents cannot afford it, others because their parents are by no means convinced of the value of education, others because there was no school available in their neighbourhood when they were at the appropriate age to start their school life?

168. Again, there is the problem of those who have had some education. What can be done to prevent them lapsing into illiteracy a few years after the conclusion of their basic course? Where it is only possible for children to have a few years of primary education, the provision of leisure time and adult education is of the greatest importance to avoid the wastage of the little education they have had; to provide some way through for the brighter boy and girl; to consolidate what has been learnt at school; and to ensure that an interest in education carries over into their family life as parents.

169. Fourthly, what can be done for those educated Africans whose work takes them from those centres of population where it was possible for them to continue their education by reading and joining adult societies of various kinds? Finally, what can be done to encourage societies for the adult African, both educated and uneducated, in the larger townships?

170. For all these categories provision is needed in the form of mass literacy campaigns, follow-up work of such

campaigns, informal classes of all kinds, leisure time occupational groups for both literates and illiterates, so that skills that have been acquired may be kept alive, and so that existing skills may be passed on to others.

Welfare Education

171. Welfare education must aim directly at adults. The approach must be informal and must show practical results in a comparatively short period if people are to be encouraged to continue to work in groups, and to accept outside direction of their labours, whether in a village project or in a class. Through the strenuous and devoted efforts of either medical, agricultural, or welfare officers, much of great value has been done. The pace of events is compelling the African, even in comparatively isolated villages, to accomplish within the span of one or two generations what it took centuries to accomplish in Europe. This places a great strain on children and parents alike, and is more dramatic perhaps and less easily assimilated by the women than the men. Nevertheless, some of the work among women conducted by women education officers and missions, particularly in Nigeria, is informal education of a very high quality judged by any standard. Again, some of the residential courses for engaged girls in such places as Kumasi in the Gold Coast are outstanding. There is, however, far too little of this, and far too little realization of its value, both to the development of African education and economic progress.

172. The study of many different systems of child training has made it clear that under-developed societies can be complete forms of human living, often of a homogeneity and simple integrity that are of great value. It is important, therefore, that adult education, and particularly that designed for women and girls, should pay some attention to the rediscovery of the characteristics of the best indigenous forms of living in African 'bush' society. More study of puberty rites, initiation ceremonies, &c., might give an important key to the best type of curriculum for the majority of African girls, who, like the majority of women everywhere, look forward to marriage as their primary career. The attempt to educate through the Bundu society in Sierra Leone is an instance of the way in which much first-class educative work could be done. The whole experiment is also interesting as illustrating the pitfalls that beset all but the most wary in this field. It is a pity that, as a result of misunderstandings, the whole scheme was put into jeopardy and would seem to have been abandoned without full and proper consultations with the education department, whence the original idea emanated. It is also regrettable that, in the consequent disappointment of the pioneers and many supporters, everyone lost sight of the fact that it is not only the successful experiment that has value.

The Education of Parents

173. There is much disturbing evidence of a serious cleavage between the literate and illiterate in African society, and there is also much evidence of an even more serious cleavage between illiterate parents and their educated children. Any type of informal education which can do something to bridge the gulf between the educated child and the illiterate parent is of great value. It is arguable that many African children flock to the towns after leaving school not solely in search of work but in order to

get away from conservative parents. They long for more privacy and independence than is found in life in the compound and to leave the village where society is based on authoritarianism, where people tend to be sorted out into an age hierarchy and where, quite literally, children are expected to be seen and not heard. The fact that they soon find that living conditions in the towns are even more overcrowded is no deterrent since, even at the worst, such a life gives them the independence for which they crave. It is encouraging to notice that many teachers have formed active and vocal parent-teacher associations, but it is important that more of these societies should devote an increasing proportion of their activities towards educating the parents themselves and helping them to handle their children, rather than in using the parents' energy and enthusiasm solely for the material improvement of school buildings and the provision of equipment and other amenities.

Literacy

174. Although the educated child is often frustrated and hampered by his illiterate family, the educated young are often a great burden to a largely illiterate society. Much of this difficulty arises from the over-emphasis on 'book-learning' which has given both parents and children an exaggerated sense of the importance of academic skills without giving them an equal appreciation of other gifts and abilities or sufficient reverence for the mystery and wonder of life and all human relationships. Hence one of the results of educating the young to the exclusion of their elders has been the growth of a generation of young tyrants. This is so much the case that, even on the lowest level, a literacy campaign justifies itself if it enables adults to check their own receipts, to read and write their own letters, and to read public notices and newspapers.

175. It is no longer possible for the conservative educationist to argue about whether mass literacy can be effective. There are too many older men and women in Africa now who can and do write as good a letter as the primary school product. The effect that the acquisition of such skills has upon adult morale is both startling and touching. Through literacy, people regain their self-respect and are no longer despised by the boy who has gone to school. This is important, for, in the villages, the 'old men' remember the days when their fathers treated with representatives of the United Kingdom as equals. The next generation (the present parents) do not remember this and find themselves between the old men on the one hand and their children on the other, many of whom have had the full benefit of school education and Government training. These 'young men' believe that they, with their superior education, are the only ones equipped for dealing with 'Government' and the only ones equipped to be the new governing classes.

176. In any society it is important that no section shall be resigned to a stage of inferiority, and it is encouraging to see literacy classes which, while ostensibly teaching reading and writing, are in fact restoring to the adult members of the class confidence in themselves as African citizens. For this reason it is important, however, that such classes should be conducted by mature men and women and not by schoolboys, however eager and capable.

177. It is regrettable to observe that many education

officers have taken the view that teachers should not be encouraged to take an active part in either mass literacy campaigns or welfare education, and that in certain areas directives have been issued advising teachers not to associate themselves with extra-mural education, such as adult education and mass literacy. This advice is given on the grounds that 'it might interfere with the school work of the teachers'. It is, of course, true that teachers who engaged in this work in their spare time might not do as much formal teaching, but it is even more certain that it would pay handsome dividends in raising the quality of community life as a whole while, in giving the parents of their pupils a chance to become better informed, they are indeed educating the child.

178. It is a matter of urgency, if some of the mass literacy schemes are not to be sabotaged, that the whole policy of payment for such work should be reviewed. A changing scheme in which teachers were at first offered payment and were later asked to do the work voluntarily, and are now being offered payment at what is termed a 'sub-economic level', is hardly likely either to encourage recruitment for such work or to attract those most suited to it.

Youth Service and Leisure-time Activities

179. Through the initiation of or participation in parent-teacher societies, Young Farmers' Clubs, Guides, Scouts, and Village Improvement Committees, Co-operative Societies, and the like, teachers could do much to revitalize village life and to neutralize some of the distractions and dangers of urban life by their steadying influence. In their desire to see some form of leisure-time education, educated African opinion often seems to be in advance of educational administration. One report states that 'informal educational follow-up after the basic course is very dependent on finance. What prospect is there that . . . within measurable time there will be money sufficient for Youth Service?'

180. This is a very limited view of leisure-time education, which is far more comprehensive than Youth Service. In any case, it is by no means proven that Youth Service, as known in the United Kingdom, is the right pattern for West Africa. Informal leisure-time education most demonstrably is *not* entirely dependent on money provided by Government, and the real question is, 'Can West Africa afford to do without it?' It is hardly conceivable that many progressive chiefs, and emirs, wealthy traders, business and professional men, would not make generous contributions towards the funds of Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Young Farmers' Clubs, and village crafts and music societies, if they were approached with an imaginative and yet realistic scheme. The precedent of the Northern Nigerian Self-Development Fund might well be quoted which, sponsored by the Sultan of Sokoto, raised an amazing amount of money in a very short time.

181. There is need to capture the imagination of West Africans, as the Social Welfare Department has done in parts of the Gold Coast and the Man-o'-War Bay scheme has captured the imagination of some Nigerians. Unless the educated African is faced with a challenge, it is idle to expect an enthusiastic response. The ballroom dancing-cum-ping-pong-cum-politics approach is not enough, devoid as it is of any concept of service to the illiterate and

unschooled mass of the community. The approach must be an infinitely more robust, exacting, and challenging one if there is to be any positive form of social service margin. Education, particularly adult education, is one of the oldest forms of social service. If a sense of common citizenship, of belonging to West Africa, is to be developed, it will not be through political machinery only. India, Burma, and Palestine have shown that reliance on political representation or a central legislature is not, in itself, enough to develop this sense of common citizenship. It is much more likely to come about through some form of leisure-time education that will exact loyalty and demand enthusiastic endeavour.

182. At the moment youth clubs—Guides, Scouts, Boys' Brigade Companies, and so on—cater for the most part for the school child. This seems to be the case whether the groups are organized as an out-of-school activity or independently. While it is important to encourage teachers to be concerned with out-of-school activities, and natural that teachers should wish to do as much as possible for their own pupils, it is fatally easy to take this work to established groups, ready-made for the leaders. The real test of all informal education and youth work is, however, the extent to which it 'takes the light to them that sit in darkness'. It is essential if the illiterates are to be attracted to such societies that, in the initial stages at all events, groups should be started which cater especially for them, or else that the membership should be controlled in such a way that no group is heavily outnumbered by the literate members. Youth groups in the Cape Coast area are alive to this problem and are trying the experiment of making it a condition of membership of a youth society that each literate member should apply for enrolment accompanied by an illiterate friend.

Residential Courses

183. The pre-marriage courses for girls and the child-care courses for women, organized in many territories, are excellent projects and every effort should be made to increase their number. They are excellently conceived and well conducted, but in some cases it would seem advisable to pay more attention to the small improvements and labour-saving devices which many African homes could now afford, if such ideas were placed before them. They need, for example, help in the making and use of simple shelves, drawers, and cupboards. At the least, they could be provided with simple drawings and instructions for making such articles and given practice in the use of inexpensive yet attractive and hygienic dishes and cooking utensils.

184. If enthusiasm for such a scheme could be roused, it might be possible to find the money to establish a few residential centres catering for young adults of both sexes (eighteen to twenty-five), rather along the lines of the Danish Folk High Schools. It is very difficult in many parts of West Africa to conduct very much informal education among the young men because of the seasonal nature of their occupations. African custom tends to militate against study, since at seasons when farming is slack, and in the dry season, in many areas the young men are not at home but away trading and hunting. It might be possible, however, to undertake seasonal courses, perhaps of six weeks' duration in the first instance. The possibility of using some

of the boarding school and training college accommodation for vacation courses of this kind might be explored.

185. Such residential courses might be attended by young people who had not completed the whole of the primary course, as well as by illiterate Africans, but in either case it would probably be wise to devise a curriculum with a practical bias, geared to the life of society in the village. Adult education is closely related to economic development, and the work of the co-operative societies and thrift clubs has already thrown into relief the need for villagers to know something more about simple book-keeping, the ordering of equipment, and the grading of their products, but the emphasis should not be on literacy but on the spoken word and that should be the main method of teaching. A six-week course which included some instruction in practical farming, simple book-keeping, home craft, health, hygiene, and child nurture, and which might do something to raise the standard of old crafts, carving, weaving and basketry, music and dancing, would be of inestimable value to the participants, and might do much to train leaders for village life.

186. Residential vacation courses for teachers are being developed, but these concern themselves very largely with techniques. It would be helpful if the idea, developed at the day conference at Lagos Bay holiday camp, could be extended. At this conference sanitary inspectors, agricultural officers, co-operative officers, and others explained the manner in which the schoolmaster could act as one of their team by being a link between them and the villagers. The method of training students in the villages which has been developed at Bunumbu in Sierra Leone is another experiment of great value. Villagers visited by the Bunumbu teams might need little persuasion to attend a residential course at the college from which they have received so much help, encouragement, and friendship.

Democratic Needs

187. Just as the establishment of co-operative societies has already thrown into high relief the need for some instruction of their members in simple reading, writing, and arithmetic, so the anticipated development of local government, with the devolution of responsibility for certain aspects of educational policy, makes adult education of an informal kind a matter of urgent necessity. Adult franchise is the most important feature of the new political developments; hence it becomes important to consider whether the masses are being educated for their democratic responsibility; whether the literate few, as well as the illiterate majority, are being given every opportunity to exercise their vote intelligently, not only through access to unprejudiced information but by the provision of societies and meeting-places where they may exchange views and have the opportunity to meet informed experts. It is of paramount importance that the democratic weapon of the vote should never be used out of sheer ignorance to out-vote democracy.

188. If local councils are to be effective, particularly if they are to do the right thing by education, schoolmasters have an urgent duty, even on the level of self-interest, to educate adults for citizenship. Even the most simple social service in the village requires management and control. Directly a public latrine or a public well is installed the need for a controlling authority becomes clamant. The

village institute or adult classes can be the means of educating village councils in duties and responsibilities and can be an integrating force without which district councils cannot function satisfactorily.

189. Moreover, if primary education is to be the responsibility of the local authority, the illiterate must be educated both to see the value of education in gradually increasing the economic development of the country, and also to some form of social awareness that sees in citizenship something beyond self-interest. A responsible village community educated for citizenship based on local and traditional institutions must be built up if both education and local government in Africa are not to fail.

190. The People's Educational Association and the extra-mural work of the university departments hold a well-deserved place in the general scheme of adult education in most territories. It is, however, in such classes and associations that many voluntary workers in the more informal educational fields should be found and recruited. Teachers, clerks, and junior Government officials are rightly encouraged to join these classes, and it is important that their duty to share their knowledge and skills with the less educated should be placed before them. They can hardly achieve this within the pattern of extra-mural classes where standards should be insisted on and maintained.

191. Many interesting experiments are being undertaken in many areas; and much valuable work is being done. Experience of adult and informal education in other countries, however, would suggest that education should be much more vitally concerned to provide the stimulus for adult and leisure-time education of all kinds. The time is overdue for a conference of the Social Welfare Department and health officers, mass education officers, adult education officers, and others, at which the whole field of informal education should be discussed and co-ordinated. At the moment there is much wasteful use of both the skilled staff and the little equipment available. Voluntary helpers need to be recruited and training schemes devised for those who are willing to undertake any such training.

Equipment

192. Every effort should be made to use available buildings for informal education. There would seem to be no reason why in schools where domestic science centres or craft rooms have been built such equipment and buildings should not be used for informal work in the early evenings and week-ends. Where both exist, there might be joint classes in home-making and parent education for young married couples. The educational possibilities of the village dispensary and the court *barr* or market *barr* should also be exploited.

193. There is much wasteful use of film vans. In some areas the British Council, Public Relations Office, and Extra-mural Department are all using vans, and the journeys seldom seem to be co-ordinated. Long distances are covered to reach large townships when a little planning would enable visits to be paid to groups of villages on both the inward and outward journey. Much attention needs to be paid to the training of those in charge of film units. With notable exceptions many of them do not seem to have been taught the specialized technique of film showing to illiterate and excitable audiences. Where this

technique has been mastered, the educative value of the film unit is beyond question.

194. Again, there is little or no co-ordination of the distribution of reading-matter. There is great need in all territories for mobile book vans, which should be stocked with books and pamphlets in English and the vernacular. Although the principle of using libraries for the sale of books is deprecated in some quarters, the present situation in all territories leads to the conclusion that the book van should contain books for sale as well as a lending library.

195. In this connexion, there is need for a review of the policy of the Church Missionary Society and for much more co-ordination with publishing firms. The problem of the distribution of literature of all kinds is fundamental and there is a case for a conference on this subject in all territories. In Nigeria full advantage of the excellent work of the Gaskiya Corporation is not being taken because there would seem to be no broad implementation of a workable policy of co-ordination with Education and other Government Departments over production and distribution.

Recruitment and Training of Voluntary Helpers

196. There is a most disappointing dearth of voluntary workers in all branches of informal education. Inter-departmental conferences are needed at which recruitment and training schemes could be discussed and inter-related to prevent both overlapping and misunderstanding and, above all, to ensure that the educative value of all such work is fully realized by all concerned, since there is always a danger that informal education will be misused by the demagogue, and misunderstood and discredited by the formalist. The recruitment of voluntary helpers is an immediate necessity. Teachers, social workers, and educated women should be made aware of the work to be done in the field of informal education, and it should be presented to them as a challenge rather than as a dreary fulfilment of duty. There are many African and European wives whose talents could be utilized and whose work would be invaluable. At present this rich source of help

remains largely untapped for lack of an imaginative scheme which would enlist their enthusiasm and co-operation.

197. Many voluntary helpers, European no less than African, might welcome short training courses to give them the necessary confidence to undertake the leadership of even the smallest and simplest form of group work. Education Departments should recognize their duty to give guidance and help in the drawing up of such courses and to release staff to undertake them. Much of the training would need to be *ad hoc* in the first place, but the experience of those responsible for the teams at Tamale, Cape Coast, and Akure would be invaluable and, in the beginning, such training might well take the form of short conferences, short training courses, and visits of observation.

198. As there are so few trained and experienced people to do the initial work, there should, in the first instance, be a concentration of trained personnel on a few small pilot schemes, with the consequent avoidance of much 'disorderly dynamism' on the one hand and the wasteful use of man-power on the other. This would obviate the inevitable failures which occur when too much is attempted by too few. Such failures sap the confidence of the groups themselves, as well as that of the voluntary helper, and tend to bring all the work into disrepute.

199. The training of further personnel should be conducted in the first place in those areas where such pilot schemes have been successful. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that trained personnel should never be removed from a successful scheme until it is very well established and until another person is found to take over the rather less demanding leadership which informal education in a rapidly developing society demands. This cannot be done unless more regard is paid here, as in all branches of the Education Service, to the urgency of stabilizing the postings of Europeans and Africans. At a time of rapid expansion it is still important that quality and standards shall be preserved, that confidence shall be maintained, and that mere quantity should not be the sole criterion of judgement.

6. THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The Present Dilemma

200. The supply of teachers lies at the very heart of the educational problems of the West Coast. In any country the number and the quality of the schools is directly related to, and is ultimately controlled by, the supply of teachers. In most parts of the Coast the rate of educational expansion is at present being slowed down by lack of teachers; while in all parts the education being provided is far less effective than it should be because the majority of teachers have not the training and qualifications necessary for a full appreciation of their responsibilities and opportunities.

201. In the early stages of a rapidly developing educational system there is a period of very real conflict. To set a standard of education and training for teachers high enough to avoid the likelihood of the blind being led by the partially sighted would so restrict the opening of new schools as to produce acute political pressure. On the

other hand, to allow the unrestricted opening of schools may well involve such a heavy dilution of the teaching profession with the semi-educated and untrained that all real educational values are forgotten in a headlong pursuit of literacy. In Eastern Nigeria the rate of expansion forced upon the Education Department by public demand has resulted in the virtual collapse of all standards. In the Gold Coast the present rapid expansion might involve a similar collapse if there is any delay in implementing the full programme for the recruitment and training of teachers which is included in the Accelerated Development Plan for Education. Elsewhere the expansion has generally been held at or near capacity of the various training institutions. But this has been done only by accepting a far lower standard of general education and of professional training than is desirable, and it remains true to say that a raising of the educational standard for admission to training is one of the most urgent educational needs of the West Coast.

202. All the West African territories are still facing this dilemma, but this need not be the ground for discouragement, for it is a necessary phase which no country has escaped. Since teachers are the product of schools, you cannot have teachers until you have schools or schools until you have teachers. Moreover, you cannot have good teachers until you have good schools or good schools until you have good teachers. In one way or another the pump must be primed. As a matter of history this has been done for the West Coast by missionaries and expatriate teachers, and they have made the progress of education, slow as it must often seem to be, far more rapid than otherwise it would have been. A country which has not the opportunity or the will to accept external assistance of this sort and which faces the problem of building up an educational system from the beginning from its own resources is condemned to a rate of progress which will be measured in centuries rather than in decades. The pumps at some levels will continue to need priming for many years to come if they are to get into full working order at a rate consistent with the urgent needs of these times. This creates a problem of very special difficulty for some peoples on the Coast who, just because they realize the wider implications of education, are reluctant to accept this needed help from missionaries or from Africans from other parts.

203. But a vicious circle may sometimes be converted into a spiral. Anything that can be done to get more good teachers into West African schools will pay immediate dividends in the improvement of the schools and deferred dividends in the improvement of the teachers of the next generation. An increase in the number of really good teachers should be the spear-head of educational progress on the Coast and there is no single aim in which effort could be concentrated to greater advantage.

204. In the meantime the problem remains for any country which has not yet reached the stage of universal education. What is the right balance between expansion and the supply of good teachers? Three stages of this problem can be traced in West Africa and, indeed, exist at present in different parts of the Coast. In the first stage the rate of expansion is determined by missionaries and Education Departments without any great encouragement from the public. In the second stage there is a public demand for the opening of more schools. In both these stages the authorities can, if they so wish, adjust the rate of expansion to the supply of good teachers. The third stage has already been reached in some parts of the Coast and will doubtless soon be reached in others. The control of the rate of expansion passes from the educational experts to democratically elected bodies. It is right that it should be so, for self-government would be an empty form if it did not confer upon the people the right to determine the lines of the development of its educational system.

205. This last stage has already been reached in the Gold Coast, and primary school education is to be available in Ashanti and the colony to all children of the appropriate age whose parents desire that they should have it. This is a decision of the people properly taken through their constitutional and democratic forms of government. The Accelerated Development Plan for Education in the Gold Coast is an outstanding example of the reaction of a loyal civil service to the situation created by decisions of this sort. It provides a plan for the full implementation of

the prescribed policy while at the same time foreseeing the educational dangers inherent in the policy and designing measures for their avoidance.

206. Those responsible for framing this plan were faced with the problem of the recruitment of teachers in its most acute form. The number of children to be taught is determined solely by age distribution of the population and the wishes of parents. Subject only to the determination of the size of classes, the number of teachers required is fixed. The question is no longer whether it is possible to find that number of teachers with qualifications up to an approved standard, but what kind of teachers will be forthcoming in the required numbers, and what kind of training can be given to them in the time available.

207. The problem is not solved, though it now takes a different form. How can the standards of the teaching profession, which for many years must fall short of what by any criterion could be regarded as adequate, be progressively improved as quickly as possible? If the measures proposed in the plan are energetically pursued, and particularly if nothing is allowed to diminish or postpone the plans for training in the future, there is no reason why there should not be a steady and progressive up-grading of the teaching profession from within. Everything will depend upon the determination and sincerity with which these aims are pursued.

208. The problems now confronting the Gold Coast are not unique. Many have already arisen in Eastern and Western Nigeria, and all seem likely to arise in other territories in the future as they move towards universal education. The measures now being taken in the Gold Coast will certainly provide information and, if they succeed, may well provide a model for the other territories.

The Qualifications of a Teacher

209. If a school is to be an instrument of education it must be staffed by teachers who have an adequate grasp of the nature and implications of education. It is true that in the education of a child the teacher is only one partner among many, but he is in a special position which he shares with those who are professionally associated with him as supervisors or educational administrators. Those who devote their lives to educational work have the opportunity to gain, and ought to gain, a deeper insight into the nature of education than is usually to be found among parents and other interested persons.

210. If the chief aim of education is the development of character, the teacher should himself be a man of character. He should have had the opportunity, by participation in the corporate life of a college or otherwise, for the kind of education which assists personal development and the growth of character.

211. In so far as an important part of his duty will be instruction, the teacher must have an adequate knowledge of the subject-matter in which he is to instruct. Apart from the obvious limitation that a teacher cannot teach that which he does not know, he will not be free if he is teaching to the limit of his own knowledge. He will be unable to see his subject-matter in a true perspective. He may be so anxious because of the uncertainty of his own knowledge that he will be unable to give his mind to making his instruction effective, much less to fulfilling the educational purposes for which the instruction is undertaken. He will

probably be driven to take refuge in 'safe' and mechanical methods that are of indifferent instructional value and are educationally worthless.

212. All this has to be interpreted against the background of the hard facts of the educational situation on the West Coast, and it provides a peculiarly difficult example of the problem of translating good principle into right action. The answer must be a practical one, and we must try to see what, with the best will and effort, is possible within the circumstances that prevail.

Selection for Primary Teaching

213. At present recruitment for primary teaching is almost always from the senior primary or middle school, and this is probably inevitable for some time to come; but the eventual aim should certainly be recruitment from the secondary schools, and this should be one of the factors taken into account in planning the development of secondary education. The immediate problem is to secure for teaching a due proportion of the best material in the primary schools.

214. Unfortunately this aim is far from realization. Evidence that teaching is at present fairly low on the list of desirable occupations is too widespread to be ignored. The remuneration and conditions of service of the profession must be made more attractive than they are at present. Moreover, teacher training is, in fact, an alternative and lower form of secondary education and is generally so regarded by candidates and their parents. It is rare for a candidate to seek admission to a training college unless he has tried and failed to gain admission to a secondary school or cannot afford to pay secondary school fees. To such a one teacher training represents the only alternative avenue to the prizes of a secondary school education. He may, and frequently does, leave teaching for some more lucrative or congenial employment as soon as he has completed his minimum obligation. Even those young Africans who feel that teaching is their vocation will rightly seek to proceed to a secondary school and to the appropriate form of teacher training later. The tendency on every count is for the teaching profession, and even that part of it which is trained, to be recruited from the less able and less devoted young Africans. Nevertheless, one cannot but admire the quality of the tone that is to be found in many training colleges whose students come to them in such circumstances.

215. This problem is closely linked with that of the requisite standard of education and attainment. A primary school course followed by a course of teacher training means that the personal education of the teacher is not what it should be, and that the margin between his own attainment and that which is expected of his pupils is dangerously small. On any long-term view the completion of a full and rich course in a secondary school is the minimum qualification for entry upon teacher training that can be regarded with equanimity. Whatever lower qualifications for the time being may be dictated by circumstances, and however distant the attainment of the ideal may be, it should be kept steadily in view in the development of an African teaching profession.

216. Developments in other directions may bring the opportunity for this change sooner than might be expected. Up to now recruitment 'ex-Standard VI' or thereabouts

has meant an entry-age to the training colleges of seven-teen or more. Now that the age of entry to schools is becoming more normal a steadily increasing number of pupils, and these generally the best, will be completing the primary course by the age of thirteen or fourteen, and perhaps ultimately of twelve. This is far too young to begin an ordinary training course. If nineteen is accepted as the minimum age at which anyone should be allowed to qualify as a teacher—and it certainly cannot be put any lower—it follows that some means must be found of filling the gap. Either the training course must be greatly lengthened or special courses must be devised to fit in between the end of the school course and the beginning of the training course. Either alternative means, in effect, the provision of a secondary school course for intending teachers and there seems no reason to suppose that this would be more expensive if it were done as part of the normal secondary school system than it would be as part of the special arrangements for teacher training. This is not merely a problem of the distant future. Promising material is already being lost because of the gap between school-leaving age and training college entry-age. It is a problem requiring immediate attention.

The Training College Curriculum

217. A training college should provide for the further general education of its students. It is not merely that they must know the things they will have to teach with an adequate margin. The students are themselves still in the stage of development, and they should find the satisfaction of their personal needs in their work. For many of the students, and for some time to come, the training college must take the place of the secondary school which has been denied to them. It follows that all that has been said about the nature of a good school and the extent to which it is more than a place of instruction will have its appropriate application to the training college. The college must strive to fulfil for its students the requirement that those who would be educators must first be educated. This will imply further work in the subjects of the school curriculum, opportunities for practical work in art and crafts, and participation in the kind of community life in which character can be deepened and strengthened.

218. A training college must also be a place of vocational training. It must prepare its students for their future work as teachers by leading them to think about education in an adequate way, by giving them a grounding in the principles on which good teaching method is based, by instructing them in the craft of teaching, and showing them in practice what lively and inspired teaching can accomplish. This important part of the work of a training college may be approached in different ways according to the capacities of its students. For some it may be approached through philosophical studies of educational principles, educational psychology, and the analysis of teaching method. For others it is best approached in a simpler and more empirical way. The problems of education are very deep problems, but they are human problems and they can be profitably discussed in simple and non-technical language. Most of the differences between good and bad teaching are fairly obvious to one who has seen good teaching in operation. It is far more important that the student should come to know good teaching by

acquaintance than that he should be able to explain what it is in philosophical language. Perhaps the worst solution is to attempt a middle course which misses the advantages of both in a formal and arid study of the 'principles of education'. Most training colleges anywhere would make their professional training more lively and significant by adopting the simpler line of approach, and this is especially true of the West African training colleges in their present circumstances.

219. Training colleges have a special responsibility for the improvement of the spoken English of students who are to teach in that medium. There are rare exceptions to the rule that a teacher cannot teach up to the limit of his own knowledge, but there can be no exception in the teaching of language. The teaching of English by any modern method can be undertaken even in its earliest stages only by one who can speak English with ease and facility. But the importance of this matter extends to every subject of the curriculum in which English is the medium of instruction. Lack of confidence and facility in spoken English is the direct cause of much bad teaching. It is disappointing to find how little serious attention is given to this important matter in many training colleges, where English is rarely spoken except in the class-room, and there is a surprising lack of the various mechanical aids which might be of immense value in improving the standard of spoken English.

220. The training colleges have an important, probably a decisive, part to play in the struggle to improve moral standards. They influence the budding teacher's own standards of conduct both as a citizen and as a teacher. If they ignore his responsibilities as a trainer of character and concentrate on his role as an instructor, they will perpetuate a disastrously narrow conception of the teacher's function. On the other hand, the training colleges can do much to break down the barriers which now divide the life of the school from that of the community it serves, and both from the life of the teacher. They can give their students a clearer conception of the part that the teacher should play as a member of the community he serves. Those colleges which encourage married students to bring their wives into residence and to take an active part in the life of the college are setting an admirable example. The students from such a college as Toro in Nigeria may not be very learned in the narrow sense of that word; but when they go out with their wives to the villages they can hardly be content to regard their work as merely that of making children literate. And many other colleges are in many different ways working towards the same ends. But there is a danger that, in attempting to meet the urgent demands for teachers, some colleges may be tempted to sacrifice these vital but intangible qualities and to concentrate on the inculcation of teaching techniques.

221. There are questions of priorities which must be squarely faced, otherwise there is so much that might profitably be done that too much will be attempted, timetables will be overcrowded, and students will have no time for thought or private reading. These problems arise wherever teacher training is undertaken, but they arise acutely in West Africa, where circumstances dictate that the time available for training is manifestly inadequate. In view of the present low educational standard of training college entrants, the first priority should be general educa-

tion in its broadest sense, including proficiency in spoken English. For the time being professional training should be approached in a simple and practical way, with opportunities for the informal discussion of live educational issues. A student may receive a valuable part of his professional training through the unconscious absorption of the atmosphere of a place which has the promotion of good teaching as the focus of all its activity.

Length of Course

222. Two-, three-, and four-year courses are all to be found, with varying educational standards at entry. Having regard to those standards all these courses are short, and the two-year courses, which are the most common, are certainly too short, except possibly the few that cater for secondary school pupils. Even if the changing age-range in the schools did not force a lengthening of these courses, it would still be most desirable to lengthen them on purely educational grounds. A third year would certainly more than double the value of these two-year courses. Where the demand for teachers has far outrun the supply it may be impossible to face the further restriction which would follow the immediate lengthening of the training course from two to three years; but there are areas where the lengthening of the course would certainly be possible if it were thought desirable. There is a tendency to accept the two-year course as adequate—possibly because of a very false analogy with two-year training in England. It is not adequate. In present conditions on the West Coast a three-year course ought to be accepted as the minimum. When the demand is so heavy as to make the immediate lengthening of the course impossible, long-term plans might well include the provision of deferred third-year courses for all those who, after a certain date, begin teaching after only two years' training.

The Service of Practising Teachers

223. We are more and more coming to see that, though teachers need special training before entry to the profession, that training whatever its length must necessarily be incomplete. Initial training, even if carried out in the most favourable circumstances, can do little more than set the young teacher's feet in the right path, which he must pursue through experience if he is to become a master of his craft. A great deal can be done to improve the educational quality of the work in the schools by careful attention to the needs of practising teachers for conferences for the exchange of experience, short courses for the further consideration of educational problems and opportunities to discuss their work with teachers, supervisors, and inspectors of wider experience. The more closely those who are concerned with the initial training of teachers can be associated with these services to practising teachers the better alike for teacher training and the schools.

Recruitment of Staff

224. Most training colleges have a small nucleus of expatriate staff, though owing to the exigencies of leave it tends to be a rather unstable nucleus, and the proportion of officers who have had no previous experience of training college work is very large. The majority of the training

college lecturers are Africans, and the total number required to meet the needs of the training programme is already very considerable and is bound to increase. There can be no doubt of the importance of the work of these lecturers and it is vital that the work should attract and retain a fair proportion of the best teachers. Unfortunately it does not at present appear to be doing so. Secondary school work is almost universally preferred, and in many places an able teacher looking for promotion would not think of training college work until he had given up hope of obtaining a secondary school post, or a supervisory post or a primary school headship. The conditions of service at training colleges need to be improved until this reluctance is overcome.

225. A tour on the staff of a training college can give a young education officer experience which he will find invaluable later on in district work and, if he is a keen teacher, lack of previous knowledge of training college work will not prevent his pulling his weight on the staff. But lack of knowledge in the many must be balanced by expert knowledge in the few. In every training college there should be one or two people who have experience of teaching, and can bring first-hand experience in schools to bear on the problems of training.

The Size of Training Colleges

226. Efficiency and economy of staff and buildings, and the development of a full college life, all favour a fairly large unit. If these were the only factors to consider the normal college would probably be about 200 strong. But there are not many places on the West Coast where 200 students could be collected together without a great deal of travelling, and the difficulty of finding schools for teaching practice is an even stronger argument in favour of a small unit. Assuming a staffing ratio of about one to twelve it would seem that staffing difficulties are likely to be acute in a college with less than about 100 students. In all the circumstances it seems reasonable to suggest that a minimum roll of about 100 should be aimed at even if this involves a good deal of travelling and special boarding-out arrangements for teaching practice. It is at least clear that the two-year colleges with a single-class entry and a total roll of about forty are too small, though as a temporary measure they may be justified in certain areas. If the colleges are, as has been suggested, to pay more attention to general education and less to professional training, the balance will swing even more strongly in favour of larger units; and any lengthening of the course will have much the same effect.

The Training of Specialist Teachers

227. In spite of some notable efforts there are very few teachers outside the secondary schools who combine specialist training with a general teaching qualification, and for some time to come much of the teaching of handicraft and housecraft and of agriculture will have to remain in the hands either of teachers who have only an amateur's acquaintance with the craft or of craftsmen and craftswomen who have no training as teachers. The aim is clear enough—to add specialist craft training to general professional training or, more rarely, to give professional

training to the professional craftsman. Attempts are being made to tackle this problem, but there is a very long way to go before it is solved. The teaching of housecraft is probably the most soundly based at present. The agricultural courses for teachers, which have been functioning for some years at two centres in Nigeria and are soon to be opened at two more, are admirable. The courses for teachers of handicraft, such as those held at the Technical Institute at Yaba in Nigeria, have not yet had time to prove themselves. They attempt to combine teacher and craft training in a two-year course, and they may well be attempting the impossible. The experiment of giving a year's intensive craft course to teachers who have already had a full general training might be worth trying.

The Recruitment of Secondary Teachers

228. The secondary grammar schools must on the whole look to the universities for their teachers, and it is largely because the number of African graduates is so small—and only a minority of these take up teaching—that these schools are so dependent on expatriate staff. Other types of secondary schools will also need a proportion of graduates, but they could manage with a rather larger admixture of non-graduate staff if non-graduate teachers were available with standards of education and training comparable to those of the English college-trained teacher. If the expansion of secondary education is going to be strictly limited by the number of graduate teachers available, then that expansion is going to be very slow indeed. There is a clear need for providing an alternative to university training for the secondary school leaver. A three-year training course after School Certificate which gave the student a position in the teaching world not far behind that of a graduate might well attract some of the abler secondary school pupils. The up-grading of primary school teachers by means of a special course is a possibility. The course—now unfortunately defunct—which was run at Ibadan for a number of years was an admirable example of this kind of training. But the extent of this up-grading from primary teaching is very limited, not only because the number of primary teachers capable of following a stiff course of this kind is small, but also because any arrangement by which any promising primary teacher was likely to be taken away and groomed for secondary teaching would have a disastrous effect on the primary schools.

The Untrained Teacher

229. A distressing feature of the present situation is the high proportion of untrained teachers in primary schools. In some areas it is not uncommon to find that even the modest official requirement of at least one trained teacher on the staff of a school is not fulfilled. The untrained teachers fall broadly into two classes: those who have served for a considerable time, and young people who will either proceed to training after serving for a year or two or leave teaching for some other occupation. The first category arises whenever better standards of qualification are introduced, and those who fall within it are entitled to consideration by reason of their experience. As opportunities for training are extended, the category should gradually fade out. The real danger to the primary schools arises from the very large number of young inexperienced and untrained teachers. These are in the schools either on

the dubious plea that training is more effective after a few years' experience or as a measure of insurance for those who will have to bear the cost of training that they are not wasting their money on people who could never become good teachers. Whatever explanation may be advanced, these teachers are in fact a glaring example of the results of efforts to provide primary schools 'on the cheap'. On the other hand, without them large numbers of schools on the Coast would have to be closed. This is but one of the reasons which point to the conclusion that greatly extended provision for teacher training is a most urgent need.

The Teaching Profession

230. The teachers themselves, conscious of their membership of a united and honourable profession, can exert a powerful influence on the development of education. It is

most encouraging to find that teachers in the various territories are developing their organizations with all the marks of a good profession—a sense of social purpose, the establishment of high standards of professional conduct, and a regard for the quality and training of those who enter its membership. In several of the territories these professional associations have already a high degree of organization. They are concerned, and rightly concerned, with questions of remuneration and conditions of service, but they are not preoccupied with these to the exclusion of the matters touching their professional responsibility. Some of them are already regarded by the authorities and the public as trustworthy organs for the expression of the corporate views of teachers on educational issues. They are a healthy and important element in the educational affairs of the West Coast.

7. EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Growth of the Local Authority

231. There is a tendency throughout West Africa for the Native Administration to find a new place in local government or to be superseded or merged in newly created local authority units. Both the surviving Native Administrations and the new local authorities have very varied resources and differ considerably in size, being larger, for example, in Ashanti and Western Nigeria than in the Gold Coast Colony or Sierra Leone. An example of merging authorities is afforded by Western Nigeria, in which there were 137 superior Native Authorities in 1945 and at the end of 1949 only 47. The tradition of local government also varies greatly. In the Gold Coast, development now taking place will establish local authorities based on the areas of Native Administrations, or on a grouping of these. In the Protectorate of Sierra Leone chiefdoms, most of which are Native Administrations, are being grouped in District Councils. In all territories there is a great increase in the proportion of elected members on the Native Authority Councils. Details for the different territories, showing the stage reached, are set out in recent annual reports.

Trends in the Distribution of Responsibility

232. The tendencies in local government have led to a need to revise educational relationships. In the Gambia the Baldwin Report recommends administration by Divisional Councils functioning as education authorities, planning the distribution of schools, preparing estimates, and receiving block grant from District Councils.

233. In Sierra Leone the District Councils established under the Ordinance of 1950 will become Local Education Authorities, which will be responsible for all primary education either by direct provision (with reasonable Government grant) or through voluntary agencies, subject to central regulations with regard to standards. These local education authorities will also approve schools and

their qualifications for grants. The City Council of Freetown is given power to establish a local education authority.

234. The new constitution in Nigeria has given to Regional Administrations the primary responsibility for a wide range of Government services, including education. The Central Government retains full powers of legislation and executive action on all subjects and will naturally be concerned with educational policy as it affects Nigeria as a whole, but the major responsibility for educational development will of necessity be borne by the regions. In each region, and in the Central Government, there is a Minister responsible for education. This devolution of responsibility to the regions is excellent and means that each region will be free to a large extent within the general policy laid down by the Central Government to develop on its own lines and to make the best use of its own resources.

235. In Eastern Nigeria, which has no tradition of strong local administration, new councils on the English model are being developed. Three types of authority are proposed here—County, District, and Parish Councils. The county council would be the local education authority with an education committee related to it on the English model. The duties of this authority would include (a) the securing of education for the maximum number possible; (b) recommending the opening and closing of schools; (c) advising on the revision of assumed local contributions; (d) at the request of the voluntary agencies, maintaining schools belonging to the voluntary agencies under regional regulations; and (e) holding and administering funds for the maintenance and development of education in its area, including Government grants, education rates, local contributions, and school fees.

236. District councils would take over Native Authority or present local authority (i.e. township) schools, establish schools subject to local education authority approval and maintain them from the rates, act as managers and employ and pay staff, and advise generally on education

in the area. The county council will precept upon the district council, which is to be the tax-collecting unit. Parish councils will have power to levy rates to support the schools attended by children of the parish. Voluntary agency representatives would be co-opted on the county education committee. Scholarships would eventually be a matter for the county council. Subject to the Regional Education Board, the educational administration would be conducted by a County Education Officer with appropriate office staff. The question of the separate administration of primary schools may, it is suggested, eventually be solved by making the district council responsible for primary schools and the county council for post-primary.

237. In Western Nigeria the local authority will be based on the Native Authority. The Native Authority Ordinance permits the establishment of education committees and the raising of an education rate. Under this ordinance there are now thirty-five Native Authority education committees, in which one-third of the membership is from the Native Authority and the rest from voluntary agencies and others interested in education. It is hoped gradually to alter this basis so that the Native Authority has two-thirds of the representation. It is intended that the towns of Warri, Sapele, and Ibadan will be separate local authorities with their own education committees.

238. In Northern Nigeria local government will continue to be based mainly upon Native Administration. A problem within this region is presented by the six provinces of the 'Middle Belt' which have about 80 per cent. non-Muslim population; this may justify some measure of devolution.

239. Regional government is recognized as implying for each region an administration which, while having regard to principles determined nationally, will create and adapt institutions in a manner appropriate to the character and needs of its people. The stage now reached in constitutional and educational development makes a review of the education service in each region important if it is to be related suitably to the way of life of the area concerned.

240. Local Government in the Gold Coast has particularly been the subject of a number of recent reports, the chief of which are

Three reports of committees on local government in the Northern Territories, Ashanti, and the Colony.

The Phillipson report on regional administration

The Guthrie report on grants-in-aid, with recommendations by the Armitage Committee

An investigation by Sir David Lidbury on the structure of the Civil Service.

A summary in a Government publication entitled *Local Government Reform in Outline*

241. There are similar problems to those mentioned above in the reform of local government now proceeding in the Gold Coast. For example, in the colony there will be fourteen districts and fifty-one local authorities. The District Education Committee will become a committee of the District Council, which is to be the local education authority. The district council will be elected from the local authorities which will be the units for taxation and will precept upon it. The district council is the vehicle for grants-in-aid. Functions will be devolved by instrument

to each district council and local authority. These functions are not yet determined and must necessarily vary, since many local authorities will be too small to fulfil adequately all the functions connected with primary schools and certainly with post-primary schools.

Central and Local: Principles and Functions

242. The delegation of powers and duties in education which is found in the United Kingdom cannot readily be transferred to these territories. In the United Kingdom almost all executive action lies with the local authority but there is increasing central control through directions from the Minister, conditions of grant-in-aid, audit, inspection, and guidance. Although this relationship is difficult to transfer to West African situations, there are certain matters which it appears necessary to safeguard. They include:

- (1) the professional status of the teacher;
- (2) the maximum possible freedom for the individual educational institution;
- (3) the maintenance of local interest and criticism; and
- (4) national standards of efficiency.

243. Eventually there must develop a partnership between central and local government with powers and duties varying according to local resources and efficiency. In this connexion, it should be borne in mind that the place of the local authority in the partnership need not always be in direct relationship to the financial contribution made. The following are examples of functions which will need to be allocated among the different partners, the central or regional authority and the local or minor authority:

- (1) the establishment of new schools;
- (2) making recommendations with regard to types of schools and the general nature of their curriculum;
- (3) advising upon sites;
- (4) making grants towards schools provided by voluntary agencies;
- (5) the preparation of estimates and keeping of adequate financial records;
- (6) the provision of returns and records of attendance;
- (7) the planning and building of schools;
- (8) the equipment and furnishing of schools;
- (9) the maintenance of school buildings;
- (10) the appointment and dismissal of teachers;
- (11) the payment of teachers' salaries;
- (12) the employment of non-teaching staff;
- (13) the granting of scholarships or bursaries, preferably restricted at local education authority level to grants to pupils at post-primary schools;
- (14) the assistance of informal education, art and crafts, physical recreation;
- (15) the provision or assistance of community centres, libraries, museums.

244. Municipal councils, existing or proposed, need special consideration. For example, county borough powers may be desirable for Freetown (64,500), Ibadan (335,500), Lagos (250,500), Accra (136,000), Bathurst (21,000), but the case of towns like Cape Coast (23,500), Onitsha (60,000), Kano (101,500), and Port Harcourt (45,000) may be different. For instance, since 1949 Port Harcourt has had an experimental constitution with a majority of

elected members and an extensive franchise. Some of these bodies have powers already but are making little or no contribution financially or otherwise to the educational service. A number of these towns should be regarded at least as potential local education authorities.

245. The village or group of villages and the township are subdivisions of authorities, affording a test of the efficiency of the service and of local opinion with regard to it. Where possible, they should have a share in school management, but only a simple executive devolution is possible, for example, minor repairs to the school. This is particularly important where a small Native Authority has its powers merged in those of a larger authority.

246. The education powers conferred upon authorities by instrument must clearly have regard to the size, resources, and efficiency of the body concerned, and should provide for a gradual increase in functions as developments occur, probably beginning with limited functions of primary school management. Failure to exercise functions reasonably should lead to their reverting to the superior body.

247. Pending the establishment of a clear distribution of powers and duties, existing functions might be developed. A typical Native Authority in the Gold Coast, for instance, already has a scheme of management whereby estimates are prepared for the Native Authority, arrangements are made for buildings and repairs, grants are made to voluntary agencies, local scholarships are awarded, and arrangements are made for local payment of teachers. Some authorities may not proceed beyond this stage for a number of years. Meantime, there will be the problem of the relationship between the administrative officers (district officer or district commissioner) and education officers. There will certainly need to be co-ordinating officers responsible to the central Government to a greater extent than in the United Kingdom.

248. A provisional solution to this question of responsibility has been found in the Gambia whereby the Education Department is to be responsible for general educational policy, staffing, schemes and methods in schools, while the district councils and education committees on educational advice will be responsible for the buildings, equipment, and finance of primary schools. In Sierra Leone the Governor is empowered as an interim measure to establish an education committee for areas where a local education authority has not been created. It is important that at all stages the local authority should feel that they are able to influence the provision made within certain limits by increasing or decreasing their contribution.

Local Government Officers

249. The small size of some local education authorities may make difficult the employment of officers of suitable quality and even with larger authorities expert advice will be needed on curricula. Some Native Authorities are appointing qualified executive officers and encouraging their employees to use the training facilities available. For education officers at the level of the local education authority or below, there are important functions connected with the staffing, organization, and equipment of schools which will not be inspectorial in character but will require educational knowledge. The Gold Coast is attempting to meet this by the secondment from the

Central to local government of a number of education officers whose special knowledge will enable them to put forward clearly the views of the locality. In many areas, and particularly in parts of Nigeria, the provincial education officer is over-burdened even when entitled to a professional assistant. Moreover, the supervisors and visiting teachers in his area only pay really useful visits to schools at infrequent intervals, sometimes once in two or even three years.

250. It is natural that the educational work of the district officer or district commissioner should gradually pass to the local education authority. The functions of the provincial education officer should gradually be divided between the staff of the local authority and the inspectorial staff of the central or regional Government. Meantime, he should be increasingly regarded as representing the local authority.

251. The building up of appropriate local authority staff for the educational service will present many difficulties. The training which is afforded them, along with other local government staff, should be as practical as possible and must also have regard to the honesty, integrity, and impartiality needed in local officers. For senior staff, training may be provided in connexion with either the Central Government or the universities. In Western Nigeria many officials and councillors attended vacation courses in local government in 1950 and 1951 organized by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of University College, Ibadan. Six Native Authority employees were sent to England in 1950 to study local government. Such visits to the United Kingdom should only be encouraged when these officers are able to discriminate as to the aspects of local government there which would prove useful in their areas. The improvement of administrative and clerical standards should be encouraged.

Central Government in relation to Local Education Authorities

252. The first section of the English Education Act, 1944, might prove a useful guide to relationships in that it places a duty upon the Minister to carry out a national policy through the local authorities who are under his control and direction. The central authority should retain a general responsibility for some assessment of the efficiency of various aspects of the work, the provision of courses for teachers, and the determination of conditions for grant-in-aid. Where government is regionalized some of these duties would pass to the regions. The efficiency of local authorities will be determined largely by the care with which national regulations are devised and the relationship which is established between central and local authority officers. Consultation will be essential, for example, through Advisory Committees on Education. In this connexion, teachers' unions should be encouraged to develop further their interest in general educational questions while retaining their concern for salaries and status.

253. Corporate bodies for the governance of educational institutions have made a good beginning, especially in grammar schools. Such arrangements should be encouraged since they are a safeguard against the criticism of political influence in the internal work of the schools. This device is also valuable at the level of technical education and training as a means of ensuring the interest and co-

operation of local industry and commerce. Apart from this safeguard, it would seem desirable that for some time post-primary education should be controlled centrally rather than by local authorities. On the other hand, there should be such arrangements for management that local co-operation, support, and criticism are possible.

Inspection

254. Advice to Government on the one hand and to teachers on the other should be by a group or persons whose main interest is in educational standards and who are as free as possible from executive responsibility. They should normally be officers of the central or regional Government and be given a sense of independence. Action upon their advice can then be taken (a) with a sense of freedom on the part of the teacher; and (b) with such modifications by the executive as are considered desirable on political or administrative grounds. There is need generally for increased supervision and inspection which should at least be sufficient to safeguard minimum standards. Women should be included in the inspectorate, partly to increase sources of recruitment, partly for the specific contribution they can make to girls' education, and partly as equal partners with men in visiting schools of all types.

255. For secondary grammar schools there might be advantages in inspection being conducted by a panel of inspectors from the United Kingdom visiting, say, half the schools on the West Coast every five years. This would enable the work to be assessed on comparative standards and encourage periodic discussions of trends in secondary education. One or two local inspectors could be associated with this panel.

256. In the light of the foregoing comments, it may be helpful to indicate by way of example the division of functions among officers which appears to be desirable in Nigeria:

- (1) It is assumed that from the centre the Inspector-General and his staff will inspect the general system of education and grant-in-aid regulations, will give advice on the establishment of new schools, and effect a co-ordination of the work of the regions as to the pace of development.
- (2) In the East and West Regions it will probably be found that three general inspectors for primary, secondary, and teacher training will prove inadequate even when relieved from administrative duties. In the Northern Region the basis is to be geographical and non-specialist, and may prove more satisfactory.
- (3) The local education authority would be concerned with standards of building, equipment, and staffing and will require officers skilled in these matters but receiving help from inspectors.
- (4) Although the visiting teachers of voluntary agencies are not always sufficiently objective, these agencies will continue to need some separate advisory staff.
- (5) Inspectors at present are not recruited specifically for this type of work. They should have experience of a wide range of the educational service and there might with advantage be a scheme for their interchange among West African territories.

Central Organization

257. A number of problems are presented by the newly established Ministries of Education. One is the danger of

undue separateness of the administration through the Department from the Minister himself. For example, the Permanent Secretary of a Ministry in the Gold Coast exercises, subject to the direction of the Minister, supervision over the departments in the charge of his Minister. This division of responsibility may not only affect the general organization of the work, but raises difficulties with regard to appointments and promotions. There is also a tendency to combine education either with health or social services. This may result in an undue burden upon the Minister and a failure to secure balanced development. In any re-definition of the situation which may take place, it is especially important that the head of the education department should have direct access to the Minister.

Co-operation between Departments

258. In some of these areas there is an excellent relationship amongst officers, and the importance of this sense of working as part of a team, both within the educational service and among officers generally, cannot be over-emphasized. The co-operation of other departments with the educational service varies considerably. There is an interesting relationship between social welfare and education in the Gold Coast and valuable co-operation between the department of agriculture and the education department in Nigeria. The public works department, although sometimes expensive, does work of a high standard; the speed, however, varies greatly. Sometimes there is an insufficient number of the staff who are especially interested in school buildings and greater reference could be made to recent developments in school building in the United Kingdom. It is unfortunate that occasionally pressure of work upon the public works department tends to put them in the position of determining priorities between educational and other projects.

Continuity of Staff

259. Lord Hailey drew attention to difficulties caused by transfer of officers, particularly the loss of the local knowledge, the skill in language which they may have acquired, and the confidence which they have established. The effects of periods of economy and of the war period have been more serious in this respect than in many others, although the education staffing has been a little better than in other departments. There is a serious gap between the senior officers and the persons recruited since 1945, but we have been greatly impressed by the generally good standards of the younger officers, and it is to be hoped that this standard will be maintained.

260. A number of policy decisions will need to be made with regard to expatriate staff, decisions which may be different for long-term and short-term appointments. Present difficulties for this staff include problems of the education of their children, the cost of living, the value of pensions, occasional housing difficulties, frequency of transfer. The difficulty of securing appointments in the United Kingdom after service abroad merits consideration of the possibility of at least a number of these officers being regarded as part of a wider service which would include certain posts in the United Kingdom. It is also important that they should be employed where their personal interests and qualifications indicate that they can be appropriately used. Although courses for new recruits are valuable, even

more valuable would be advanced courses for selected officers already confirmed in their appointments.

261. Expatriate officers seconded for short terms can make useful contributions for special purposes or to meet temporary situations, but their opportunities are limited and the service cannot rely upon assistance of this sort to any great extent. The whole problem should be the subject of careful consideration between the African Governments and the appropriate authorities in the United Kingdom.

262. The problem of deciding the criteria for promotion is difficult but it should be faced. In connexion with this, it might be possible for officers after, say, two tours

in one post to opt between teaching (or inspection) duties and administration.

263. The governmental changes in relation to the educational service are related to the need for political education and training. It is important that these changes should be guided by persons who realize that there is less certainty in the United Kingdom than formerly as to the best distribution of authority. Otherwise, there is some danger of copying schemes of educational administration from the United Kingdom rather than devising those which will be appropriate to local conditions and needs.

8. THE PLACE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

264. West Africa and the United Kingdom are alike indebted to religious bodies for the historical foundations of their respective educational systems. Long before it became a recognized responsibility of government to make provision for education, schools were established and carried on by Churches and by devoted men and women. Education has usually been regarded as part of the religious duty of a Church towards the children of its adherents because the wider aspects of education have been recognized. But, again, religious bodies have not usually confined their educational effort to the children of their adherents, and it is on this account that their motives are sometimes called into question. It would be strange if one who sincerely held a religious faith did not think it would be good if that faith was more widely embraced, and if he did not see in education an opportunity to lead the young in the direction of his own faith. If from time to time that motive has not been entirely absent either in Africa or in the United Kingdom, it is remarkable how often and how completely it may be submerged in a motive springing from a deeper confidence, that the spread of enlightenment, which is the aim of education, is the surest means of leading a people to a knowledge of the Truth. In both countries the relation of the educational work of religious bodies to that of the state system of education has become a question of great importance. The attitude of the impartial educationist in either country towards this important problem is likely to be utterly different according to whether he judges that the motive of the religious body is a desire to gain some sectional advantage, or that it derives from a sense of religious duty to make a characteristic contribution to a common cause. There are uncomfortable facts which lend colour to the first alternative, such as the maldistribution of schools and the continued failure to co-operate in circumstances in which co-operation has become a manifest educational necessity, but the missions of the West Coast are entitled to claim in their record that the second motive has far outweighed the first.

265. The problem is created by the gradual growth of the responsibility for education accepted by governments. The first stage is that in which neither central nor local government recognizes any responsibility; the provision of schools is left entirely to religious or philanthropic bodies, or to private enterprise. The second stage may be described as one of partnership. In it there may be schools

managed and maintained by public authorities and schools provided by voluntary bodies which may be assisted from public funds. In the third stage, which is now being approached both in West Africa and the United Kingdom, partnership gives place to trusted agency. The final responsibility for the quality and quantity of educational provision rests with the community operating through central or local government, and this is a responsibility which in its final sense cannot be avoided or delegated or shared in any partnership. In the exercise of its responsibility, government may, for good educational reasons, accept the help of voluntary bodies and may leave them a very wide measure of freedom to determine the way in which that help should be given. Among the educational considerations which may apply in such a situation are the following.

- (1) voluntary schools by their traditions and accumulated experience may be educational assets of great value which the country could ill afford to lose,
- (2) such schools may attract teachers of quality who might not be attracted to service in other schools;
- (3) by reason of their religious foundation, many such schools have special opportunities to promote moral education and character building;
- (4) within any educational system diversity of organization may be an advantage in that it gives wider opportunities for experiment and development.

266. All these considerations apply with differing force and emphasis in different parts of the West Coast. They are the considerations which will have to be weighed with many others by those Africans who are inclined to ask the questions which have often been asked in England: Is the day of the voluntary school passing? Would it not be simpler and more effective to have within each territory or region one uniform comprehensive school system? These are important questions and they merit clear but not hurried answers. The danger lies in half-hearted answers. A voluntary agency by its name implies an offer of help beyond what could be demanded as an obligation. If this offer is accepted with West African open-heartedness much good may come of it in the years ahead. If it is accepted reluctantly and with many reservations and restrictions the kernel of the voluntary spirit may shrivel within its husk. There may still be voluntary schools but they will be less effective than they might have been if the sun of due acknowledgement had sometimes shone.

Recent Changes

267. Since 1925 a number of factors have influenced the relationship between voluntary agencies and the community and also the effectiveness of some of the bodies concerned. The missions generally have accepted the situation that where educational provision is rapidly expanding they cannot themselves hope to cover the whole ground. Some missions have already established more schools than they can supply with trained teachers even at minimum requirements.

268. Some missions need greatly to improve their efficiency in administration and accountancy. They find school management a strain upon available staff and cannot find sufficient administrative help for inspection, payment of salaries, and repairs to buildings. There is a growing feeling that this work might be taken over by local education authorities as they develop, the missions co-operating in the appointment and supervision of teachers.

269. There is a certain amount of overlapping between Government, local authority, and mission visiting teachers. Some of these difficulties are being dealt with by supervisors for whom Government is now making specific grants in each of the territories. Their relationship with Government and local authority staff will need careful review.

270. At a stage at which the work of Government and local authority was undeveloped, the missions were a ready means for providing education at little cost to West Africa because the money came mainly from abroad. The changes in the economy of European countries and the increased Africanization of the Churches in West Africa have resulted in less money being available from the old sources abroad. In the meantime teachers are coming to demand better standards of equipment in schools. School fees have been increased and grant regulations have been made more favourable, but the missions are finding increasing difficulty in financing their educational services and the sums available for the improvement of equipment, the supply of books, and similar items are quite inadequate.

271. The cumulative effect of these changes is in some ways to blur the differences between mission schools and other schools, and in some ways to accentuate it. Coming as they do at a time when the whole conception of education in relation to social and economic development demands higher standards in the schools, they lead to a situation in which there is a real danger that two types of school may emerge differing widely in their standards, not by reason of anything inherent in their foundations but because of the limitations of circumstances under which schools of one type are conducted and maintained.

Present Contribution in Volume of Work and Finances

272. It is difficult to convey an idea of the volume of work undertaken by voluntary agencies in these territories in all branches of the educational service. Table I, abstracted from Phillipson's *Grants-in-Aid of Education in Nigeria* (p. 112), gives much valuable information upon the variety of voluntary agencies, their work and their distribution. The figures in this table are based upon returns for 1946, they are not claimed to be perfectly accurate. It would be most valuable if this table could be brought up to date and if similar information could be made available for other territories so that comparisons could be made more readily than at present.

273. Tables II, III, and IV from the Phillipson Report (pp. 106-7) are also of interest in showing the proportion of educational work undertaken by voluntary agencies. These tables would be most helpful if they could be kept up to date. There is similar information in the Gold Coast Accelerated Development Plan, and the current position is clear in Sierra Leone that there are 148 schools sponsored by the missions as against 27 Native Authority and 4 Government schools. Yet adequate comparisons and indications of change are not possible. Statistics on these lines should, therefore, be made available for each territory from time to time.

274. The financial burden borne by voluntary agencies is still considerable in spite of increased fees and grants. The Nigerian Education Regulations of 1948 revise the basis of grants to voluntary agencies with specific conditions of grant with regard to management, staffing, premises, and equipment. Assistance is given on a fixed formula which consists of recognized expenses less an assumed local contribution. Recognized expenses include teachers' salaries and a contribution determined periodically to other expenses. This basis of aid has tended to remove the distinction between assisted and unassisted schools. The amount of the local contribution is assessed according to the stage of development of the area concerned, and in educationally undeveloped areas is fixed at a purely nominal figure for the first four years of the school's existence.

275. The following table from the Phillipson Report (p. 108) shows the increased proportion of expenditure in Nigeria on voluntary agencies. Similar information is needed for the Gambia, Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. For instance, the position in Sierra Leone is not quite clear from published information. Assisted mission schools receive 100 per cent. grant on approved staff, but it is hoped that in future they will receive 50 per cent. of salaries from local authorities; building grants will be 50 per cent.

<i>Financial year</i> (1)	<i>Total expenditure</i> (2)	<i>Grants in aid of recurrent expenses of voluntary agency schools</i> (3)	<i>Building grants to schools</i> (4)	<i>Grants in respect of voluntary agency supervisors</i> (5)	<i>Total grants under columns (3), (4), (5)</i> (5)
	£	£	£	£	£
1946-7	745,850	491,147	29,599	8,518	529,264
1947-8	1,475,480	1,007,000	78,000	8,700	1,093,700

REPORT OF THE WEST AFRICA STUDY GROUP

TABLE I

Number of Schools and Institutions conducted by Approved Voluntary Agencies in Nigeria

(N.P. = Northern Provinces; E.P. = Eastern Provinces; W.P. = Western Provinces and Lagos and Colony)

Voluntary agency	Number of primary schools of all types					Number of secondary schools (assisted)				Number of teacher-training institutions (assisted)			
	Assisted			Unassisted		N.P.	E.P.	W.P.	Total	N.P.	E.P.	W.P.	Total
	N.P.*	E.P.	W.P.	Total									
Roman Catholic Missions	30	111	42	183	256	1,102	369		1,727	1	6	3	10
Anglican Churches and C.M.S.	30	58	117	205	71	630	748		1,449	1	3	6	10
Presbyterian Church and Church of Scotland Mission		33		33		142			142		2		2
Methodist Mission	3	25	26	54	49	132	121		302		2		5
Baptist Missions	3		11	14	25	8	196		229			3†	5
Cameroons Baptist Mission		3		3		28			28			2	2
Native Baptist Missions		1	3	4									
Sudan United Mission	20			20	32				32				
Sudan Interior	24			24	67				67				
Basel Mission		13		13		50			50				
Qua Iboe Mission	3	11		14	17	213			230		1		1
Church of Brethren Mission	1			1	4				4				
Dutch Reformed Church Mission	43			43									
Salvation Army		1		1		21			21				
African Church	2	1	6	9	5	66	253		324				
United Missionary Society	1			1	2		1		3				
Seventh Day Adventist		2	1	3	9	14	19		42				
Lutheran Mission		2		2	4	66			66				
United Native African Church		1		1		3			3				
United African Congregational Church	2			2	3		14		17			1§	1
Apostolic Church						19			19				
Swedenborg Memorial						11	2		13				
New Church Mission		1		1		10			10				
Christ Army Church						7			7			1	1
Ansar-ud-Deen			1	1			20		20				
Moslem Schools Group			1	1									
Proprietor, Aggrey Memorial College		1		1							1		
Proprietor, Henshaw Town School		1		1									
Private and Community	3			3				5	5				

* Including 86 Vernacular Schools.

† Including United Mission College, Ibadan.

‡ Includes one joint Methodist C.M.S. School.

§ Not assisted.

TABLE II
Growth of Primary Education in Nigeria

Region	Year	Government and Native Administration				Voluntary Agency (assisted)				Voluntary Agency (unassisted)			
		No. of schools		Average attendance		No. of schools	Average attendance		Total	No. of schools	Average attendance		Total
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	
Southern Provinces and Lagos and Colony	1912	59	3,873	111	3,984	91	9,673	2,059	11,732	•	•	•	20,000
	1926	58	8,800	574	9,374	192	28,229	7,046	32,275	3,578	•	•	96,600
	1930	64	9,599	1,061	10,660	275	37,885	10,534	48,419	2,387	72,951	9,403	82,354
	1937	108	10,667	1,516	12,183	339	52,803	16,661	69,464	3,086	116,819	20,144	136,963
	1947§	183	21,604	4,436	26,040§	473	114,935	38,824	153,759§	4,328	294,322	64,270	358,592§
Northern Provinces	1912	5	•	•	350	•	•	•	•	29	•	•	604
	1926	68	•	•	2,207	1	•	•	•	56	•	•	3,003†
	1937	195	•	•	9,130	22	2,623	807	3,430	322	5,909	1,800	7,709
	1947§	400†	19,551	5,571	25,122§	167	15,804	5,584	21,388§	543	18,407	6,045	24,452§

• Figures not known.

† Includes 12 middle Schools giving a five-year course subsequent to a four-year junior primary course.

‡ Includes a number of pupils in one assisted voluntary agency school.

§ The figures shown for 1947 are figures of enrolment, average attendance figures not being available, and are from returns made in respect of the year 1946.

|| In addition, there was, in returns for the year 1946, record of 23,873 boys and 6,161 girls in private venture schools in the Southern Provinces.

TABLE III
Growth of Secondary Education in Nigeria

Region	Year	Government and Native Administration			Voluntary Agency (assisted)			Voluntary Agency (unassisted)		
		No. of schools	Average attendance		No. of schools	Average attendance		No. of schools	Average attendance	
			Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls
Southern Provinces	1912	1	67		4†	•	•	5	•	•
	1926	1	160		17†	•	•	•	•	•
	1930	7	317	38	15	559	12	•	•	•
	1937	4	509	99	•	2,868	310	•	485	14
Northern Provinces	1947	7	1,158	146	36	7,738	595	•	•	•
	1912									
	1926									
	1937	1	65							
	1947	1	162		2	44	45			

* Figures not available

† Includes a number of secondary departments to primary schools

TABLE IV
Growth of Institutions for Training of Teachers in Nigeria

Region	Year	Government and Native Administration			Voluntary Agency (assisted)			Voluntary Agency (unassisted)		
		No. of institutions	Number of students		No. of institutions	Number of students		No. of institutions	Number of students	
			Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Southern Provinces	1912	3	•	•	1	•	•	2	•	•
	1926	2	48		9	200	18			
	1930	4	105		11	598	64			
	1937	4	296		19	582	107			
Northern Provinces	1947	4			53	2,080	650	1	20	20
	1912									
	1926	1	55							
	1937	3	152		1	66				
	1947	6	265	98	11	226	25	1	104	22

* Figures not available.

276. The number of secondary grammar schools conducted by voluntary agencies is not likely to increase greatly in view of the availability of finance and personnel. Government grants to these schools are, however, often inadequate in respect of buildings and equipment and only cover an unduly low minimum basis for staffing.

277. Apart from references in the sections on finance in this report, the following comments on grants to voluntary agencies may be made here

- (1) In areas which are developed educationally voluntary contributions begin to play a smaller part in financing recurrent expenditure
- (2) A common method of payment of grant is to make it to the educational unit or agency rather than to individual schools. This allows flexibility in its application but makes supervision difficult. Moreover, it does not encourage the individual school
- (3) Some missions determine the equipment allowance for schools according to the money remaining available after paying the teachers rather than on any educational basis. This affects particularly the amount of reading-matter available in schools and the willingness to equip schools for practical work
- (4) Some schools are conducted by non-approved voluntary agencies which have no means of training teachers. They have to raise all their income by church levies and fees and this only provides for teachers' salaries with no margin for equipment. The Nigeria Committee on Education (*An Enquiry into the Proposal to introduce Local Rating in Primary Education in the Eastern Region*, p. 21) indicates that the raising of an education rate implies giving rating assistance to all unassisted schools when conducted by voluntary agencies not at present approved.
- (5) Complaints are made with regard to disparities between the treatment of missions and other bodies, especially local authorities. In some areas children in mission primary schools pay fees, whereas other schools in the same areas do not charge fees. Also, there is a difference in capital grants, especially for post-primary schools. Examples were given in Nigeria of Government schools costing £100,000 to £200,000, while the building grant to a comparable mission school would be £30,000

Conflicting Denominational Claims

278. In some areas there are competing claims between Muslim and Christian communities for the establishment of schools. This may become a political issue as, for example, in the Gambia and parts of Northern Nigeria where Muslim opinion will be increasingly reflected in local elections. The congestion in the Muslim schools in Bathurst, for example, is likely to provoke serious controversy. Another source of complaint arises from the proportion of children of the various religious groups admitted to post-primary schools.

279. Even more commonly the main difficulty is the competition between Christian denominations. This situation is accentuated where educational provision is in great demand in the locality. An effort must be made to resolve the conflict between denominational teaching and good and economic planning. There is a useful pro-

vision in Sierra Leone that the Director of Education may prescribe the area for a Government school and may at the request of the proprietor of any assisted school prescribe the area to be served by such assisted school.

280. In 1928 certain amalgamations of denominational schools in the Colony of Sierra Leone were effected. While the various school authorities were to be responsible for the buildings of the amalgamated schools, the Government would (a) pay the salaries of all the teachers therein direct; (b) collect the school fees and pay them into revenue; (c) accept responsibility for the provision of equipment and materials. This scheme has not worked satisfactorily. In 1950 the Roman Catholic schools in Freetown were withdrawn from it as assisted schools. The other partners do not work well together and the interdenominational rivalries are preventing essential reorganization.

281. The scheme for amalgamation of schools in Bathurst (1945) has many similarities with that in Freetown. Amalgamation has not resulted in what Mr. Baldwin calls 'a common mind'. Separate management appears to be desirable. Meantime the Churches here, as in Freetown, are preventing essential reorganization of schools and thereby doing harm to their credit. There is an urgent responsibility upon Government to deal with the problem of the proper distribution of schools.

282. It has been necessary to emphasize the urgent need for fuller co-operation between the various religious bodies concerned with education, but this need not prevent recognition of the sincere efforts that have been made and of what has been accomplished in this direction. There are areas in which widely representative local authorities or broadly based advisory committees are endeavouring to see educational needs in terms of the whole area irrespective of denominational interests. Often those who are most actively promoting this movement are the representatives of the missions. The truth is that the West Coast is facing a practical educational issue that is of great difficulty for all parties concerned. It is difficult for the missions and for the Muslim leaders because fuller co-operation might have the effect of weakening the religious education of their children. It is difficult for parents, who may see denominational schools as potential instruments for the alienation of their children from their religious faith. It is difficult for Government and local authorities, who have a duty to maintain educational standards and to see that public funds are expended to the best educational advantage. In this connexion it is well to remember the fundamental responsibility of parents for the education of their children, a responsibility which is undiminished by the elaboration of the educational system. Perhaps the solution may be found by a patient working out in practice of the implications of a clearer recognition of the right of parents to expect that the schools to which their children go, whoever may be responsible for their maintenance and management, shall assist, not frustrate any efforts that they may make to rear their children in their own religious faith.

Relations with Local Education Authorities

283. There is an increasing flow of Government money to local government for school provision and the Churches are beginning to be faced with the situation where both Government and local authority are assuming increasing financial responsibility for providing schools. Some

Africans feel that voluntary agencies are less able to affect Government policy than are local authorities. In four or five years' time the relationship between the newly developed local education authorities and the voluntary agencies will require definition, since primary education will then, to a great extent, be within the orbit of many local education authorities, and Government grants-in-aid will come through the local education authority. One result will be a diminution in voluntary contributions to church schools. There will also be an increased interest by the local authority in the management of these schools.

284. New schools will need to be part of the local educational plan; assisted schools will have to be raised to the minimum standards prescribed; some unassisted schools may need to be recognized as part of the local provision. In this connexion there would be need for funds to be made available to the voluntary agency pending the time when an unassisted school reaches the required minimum standards. There should be prepared a list of defects of such schools and temporary assistance given to remedy them. If the school is not brought up to minimum standards, it should be made clear that the temporary assistance will cease and the school will not be put on the assisted list until all the defects are removed.

285. In certain areas where there is a predominance of a particular religion or denomination, as for instance in the 'Middle Belt' of Northern Nigeria, there may be need for special discretionary powers in relation to voluntary agencies to be accorded to local education authorities. If, however, this were to happen generally, care would be needed, especially in predominantly Moslem areas, not to apply fully the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*. There is certainly a feeling in Northern Nigeria that there should be less restriction of voluntary agency schools while there continues to be an unsatisfied demand for educational facilities.

Changing Views on Relationships

286. According to Lord Hailey (*An African Survey*, p. 1236) the missions accepted in 1926 that education is the proper function of Government, but that they should be the main agents for primary and secondary education with Government subsidy. The Roman Catholics accept assistance and supervision but cannot regard a Government or Native Authority school as a suitable one for their adherents to attend. It is clear that although some territories are attempting to retain the missions as the main agents there will be increasing pressure for the provision of Native Authority schools. On the other hand, it would be unwise to make arrangements which the Roman Catholics, who are doing excellent work in many areas, are unable to accept.

287. As the local education authority develops, it is possible that most of the missions might accept restriction of their work to teacher training, a small number of secondary schools and many of the primary schools at present provided by them. On the other hand, there are certain areas which must be developed, and the co-operation of the missions in these areas may necessitate an increase in the number of primary schools for which they are responsible. Such expansion may merit special financial consideration.

288. The Protestant missions should not find it difficult to accept the main points made by Mr. L. B. Greaves in

his report on the Protectorate of Sierra Leone. His argument is that even where Government accepts Christian standards and ideals the missions would wish to help a limited number of schools at all levels, including teacher training, to be examples of what Christian education ought to be. Planning should be done in co-operation, and missions wishing to work outside the plan would have to make separate financial provision. He also considers that the standards of efficiency of a Christian school and the supervision provided by the mission should not fall below those for Government schools.

289. This argument is not in conflict with the statements in the report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa (1945) that (i) Government policy is to develop primary education by assisting locally responsible bodies (including, it is assumed, the Native or Local Authority) rather than by direct provision by Government; (ii) minimum standards of staffing, premises, and equipment should be clearly laid down and schools not reaching such standards should not receive Government grant and should not be encouraged.

Private Schools

290. In all countries the relationship between private schools and central or local government presents difficulties. It is clear that in some of these territories there is an undue proportion of unassisted schools which should be either greatly improved or abolished. In Nigeria the proprietor of a private school may be recognized as a voluntary agency. Both here and in the Gold Coast, in spite of legal prohibition, some schools, known as 'permitted' schools, have been allowed to open without official recognition. They are usually inadequately equipped and not properly staffed. In Sierra Leone hesitation is shown in recognizing such schools, although reaching a minimum standard of efficiency, because this would establish a claim to assistance. A particularly difficult problem is presented in Nigeria by private secondary schools.

291. In some instances these schools are non-profit-making efforts of the local community. Where this is so, and there is an assurance of a permanent body being interested in governance, the conditions for approval should be made clear and approval should not be withheld if these conditions are satisfied. This must be subject to the general plan for the proper distribution of schools, and the conditions for recognition of private schools need not differ greatly from those for other voluntary agencies. The tendency is for new schools to be sanctioned on the basis of planned development, although at times the pressure of local demand or the insistence of some of the voluntary agencies bring about difficult situations.

292. In Sierra Leone no person may establish or open any new school without authority of the Director of Education, or, in the case of a primary school, of the local education authority. Refusal is based upon six considerations: (a) the proprietor or manager is not resident in Sierra Leone; (b) he is not a fit person to be in charge of a school; (c) the site, buildings, or equipment are not suitable; (d) the proposed teaching staff are inadequately qualified; (e) the proposed curriculum is unsuited to the age, ability, and aptitudes of the pupils; (f) the school is not in the public interest, having regard to educational facilities in the area.

293. The latest Development Plan in the Gold Coast requires the prior approval of a local authority for the opening of a primary school if it is to be assisted, and it is expressly stated that 'it is expected that considerable numbers of educational unit schools will be handed over to local authorities. It will be permissible for anyone to open or conduct a private school but no public funds will be granted to any private school. A private school will be *liable to be closed by law* if it can be established that the school is potentially dangerous to the physical or moral well-being of the pupils.'

294. Under the Education Ordinance 1948 in Nigeria, no new school may be established without consulting the Regional Director of Education, whose consent is dependent upon his being satisfied that the school would be adequately staffed and efficiently conducted. Appeal lies to the Regional Board of Education and thence to the Central Board. The Regional Board may order a school to be closed where, on inspection, it is satisfied that the school is conducted in a manner which is not in the interests of the pupils. Appeal lies to the Central Board.

The Next Stage in Relationships

295. The future relationship between voluntary agencies and local education authorities is foreshadowed in a recommendation of the Committee on Local Rating in Eastern Nigeria (p. 28), who recommend that 'rating assistance should be given to all schools irrespective of ownership or managership, provided they satisfy certain simple criteria and agree to abide by the conditions contained in the rating regulations'. These conditions include satisfactory management, evidence that the school is not conducted for profit, suitability of buildings, teachers' houses and dormitories, payment of teachers according to national scales, and the conduct of the school in accordance with approved policy.

296. Mr. Baldwin recommends in his report on the Gambia that if a Church school is considered worthy of support it should be given a grant-in-aid sufficient to permit of efficiency. 'The Church might be responsible for the maintenance of school buildings, though this should not preclude a grant towards capital expenditure. Details must be settled locally.'

297. If the number of schools conducted by the missions comes to be restricted, they may wish to give special attention to the development of training colleges and, through them, to provide teachers not only for their own denominations but for local authority schools. In the local authority schools and in voluntary schools receiving grant-in-aid teachers giving religious education should be acceptable both to Church and State.

298. The foregoing considerations lead to the conclusion that an early definition of relationships is essential and its neglect would be most serious. With appropriate modifications, the choices available appear to be between 'aided' and 'controlled' status for voluntary schools, as in England, or the Scottish system which may be wiser and more welcome to certain missions. The aided school is one whose managers have undertaken to bring their schools up to standards prescribed nationally; they receive half the cost of providing or maintaining the school from Government sources and are entitled to nominate two-thirds of the governing body. The controlled school has all its costs

paid by the local education authority, and the Church nominates one-third of the governing body. In the aided school religious instruction is in accordance with the trust deed of the school. In the controlled school it is to be in accordance with a syllabus of instruction agreed between the denominations and the local authority, although religious teaching in accordance with the trust deed can also be given. The teachers in an aided school are in the service of the managers, although the local education authority pays them and determines their number and qualifications. In a controlled school the teachers are in the service of the local education authority; but certain of these teachers may, if the foundation managers so desire, be 'reserved teachers' who may give religious instruction in accordance with the trust deed of the school.

299. In Scotland, under the 1918 Education Act, the Roman Catholic and Episcopalian Churches were given the option of transferring their schools to the management of Local Education Committees under two conditions: (a) the teachers to be approved by the churches in regard to religious belief and character; and (b) religious instruction to be permitted to continue according to the custom of the schools. Otherwise these transferred schools must conform to the same direction, supervision, and management as authority schools. This option was exercised by the transfer of all the religious schools to public control.

300. A study of the draft Education Ordinance for Sierra Leone (1952) shows that it is based on a careful consideration of recent legislation in the United Kingdom and certain features of it are important in connexion with the above suggestions. School committees, varying in membership from three to nine, may be set up at the discretion of the Director of Education to advise on buildings, fees, admission of pupils, to report on boarding accommodation, and to advise generally on matters affecting the school. The Governor may establish school committees with similar powers for any assisted school or group of assisted schools. He may appoint to these committees a number of members not exceeding half the number appointed by the managers of the school or group of schools. Where, however, a local authority makes a grant in aid of such a school or of any school in the group, the membership of the school committee must be appointed as to one-fourth by the Governor, one-fourth by the local authority, and one-half by the managers. Where the manager is the local authority, the membership must be appointed as to one-third by the Governor and two-thirds by the local authority. The working out of such local arrangements appears to be the best method of dealing with the relationships between voluntary agencies and the new local education authorities.

Spiritual Basis of Education

301. Whatever solution is reached in the relationship between Government and voluntary schools, there would still be problems presented by the growth of Native Authority or local education authority schools. Much difficulty would be avoided if it were made clear that these schools should have a religious basis. We found generally a willingness to allow missions to send teachers into local authority schools, but this was often not found easy to maintain. In any legislation in regard to schools not owned or managed by missions, consideration should be

given to introducing provisions which indicate the value of corporate worship and religious instruction, possibly in accordance with an agreed syllabus. Special provision will

need to be made in respect of the children of Muslims, who have a valuable contribution to make in raising the moral standards of the individual and the community.

9. FINANCE—CENTRAL AND LOCAL

Education Standards

302. In all aspects of the educational service the average standard in West Africa is low compared with the best which may be seen there. In some cases lack of funds is restricting the training of teachers and improving standards in existing schools. There is a very wide variation in the provision of adequate supervision, the welfare aspects of the service, buildings, and consumable materials. It is difficult to translate into financial terms what these standards should involve. Also, estimates are difficult in view of rising costs, which apply particularly to buildings and salaries. There is a danger in some areas of the inadequacy of funds being such that education officers must spend an undue proportion of their time looking for means of reducing proposals which would otherwise appear to be reasonable. Happily this is not so in other areas where the financial situation permits of a more positive attitude. It is desirable that education budgets should be prepared in relation to certain detailed standards, preferably on a basis of costs for each child for different aspects of the service, such as buildings, staff, equipment, and books, rather than by merely allocating a sum of money predetermined in accordance with the available resources. It would then be possible to know, even if it were not possible to remedy, the effect of financial restrictions.

Development Plans: The Finance of an Expanding Service

303. The desire to improve educational standards and to increase the number of pupils in educational institutions is reflected in the development plans prepared in each of the four West African territories. The main outlines of these plans with special reference to their financial implications are set out below. A general review of these plans is a necessary preliminary to the consideration of the problems of educational finance in West Africa.

304. The Accelerated Development Plan for Education in the Gold Coast, approved in 1951, contains the following objectives to be attained, if possible, by 1957

- (1) *Primary Schools* in Ashanti and the Colony are to be developed to provide places for 405,000 children as against the enrolment for 1950 of 212,000. Teachers are to be increased in number from 6,900 to 13,500. Recurrent costs for primary education in 1950 were £207,500 plus grants of £415,000 from political funds to Native Authorities. The total recurrent cost to Government in 1957 is estimated at £1,279,000, being 60 per cent. of teachers' salaries. No fees are to be charged. Capital costs will fall on local authorities except for a grant of £200,000 in the first two years to the four municipalities.
- (2) *Middle Schools* in Ashanti and the Colony are to be developed to provide places for 240,000 children as against the enrolment for 1950 of 60,000. Teachers

are to be increased in number from 2,044 to 4,667. Recurrent costs for middle schools in 1950 were £301,000 and in 1957 will become £517,480, that is, the cost of teachers' salaries less fees. Capital costs are to be a local charge unless funds are available for Government grants.

- (3) *Secondary Schools* will be increased to afford 7,910 places (some in existing schools, some in fifteen new day schools) as against the present 2,216. Recurrent costs will increase from £62,440 to £461,400 (after allowing £86,280 from fees). Capital costs, all from Government, amount to £2,565,000.
- (4) *Teacher Training* will be increased to provide for 3,500 students plus 480 in emergency colleges as against the present 1,640. Recurrent costs increase from £109,180 to £696,800; there will be no tuition fees and salaries and cost-of-living allowances will be paid during training. Capital costs will be £2,740,000.
- (5) *Technical Education*: the plan provides for increasing technical secondary places from 190 to 1,200 and places at trade centres from 296 to 480 and for developing technical institutes. Recurrent costs increase from £28,172 to £216,240. Capital costs will be £1,192,750.
- (6) *Northern Territories* are catered for separately, with similar objectives which will, however, take longer to reach. The recurrent costs in Government institutions will increase from £30,000 in 1950 to £70,000 in 1960 with a capital cost of £367,500. Grants to local authorities will increase from £25,700 in 1950 to £170,470 in 1960 with a capital cost of £533,500.
- (7) *Administration* will involve an increase in recurrent costs from £341,145 to £458,050 and a capital expenditure of £550,000.
- (8) *Scholarships and Bursaries*, now £223,270 for secondary and higher education, will be increased by the allocation of £1 million from the Development Fund over the period of the plan.

305. The cumulative total recurrent cost of the plan to Government will rise from £1,105,137 in 1950 to £3,804,500 in 1957, excluding scholarships, and the capital cost for building and equipment is estimated at £8,148,750. The capital expenditure will reach £4 million in the tenth year of the plan. In that year recurrent education expenditure will be £1½ million, of which Government will pay £800,000, the balance coming from fees and from the local authorities.

306. This plan has received very thorough consideration and on both educational and administrative grounds is very good. In primary education it would enable any child to attend school whose parents wished him to do so and could afford the incidental expenses. It thus gives some

indication of the cost of universal but not of compulsory primary education. It also affords a reasonable provision of post-primary and higher education. The main problem is financial and in this respect, since the Gold Coast is the wealthiest of the West African territories, it will give some indication of the practicability of universal primary education followed, as it must eventually be, by adequate facilities beyond that stage.

307. An indication of the financial problem is given in the Government publication *Planning and Achievement in Gold Coast Development* (January 1951), which shows that the plan for all services represents the limit of financial capacity. It will be necessary to raise considerable capital, probably with the assistance of the Gold Coast Marketing Board. There will also be the problems of the increased local taxes, the availability of materials and the recruitment of staff. The will to achieve this plan, especially for education, is, however, such that great progress will undoubtedly be made. The warning is given that 'it is an aim, not a promise'. With this example in mind, a consideration of the schemes for the other three territories shows that the problems there are even greater.

308. The effect of the Baldwin plan for the Gambia on annual expenditure over the next few years is difficult to assess as the period of the plan is yet to be determined and present expenditure includes a considerable contribution through Colonial Development and Welfare grants. In a note appended to the Baldwin Report by the Senior Education Officer for the Gambia there is, however, the material upon which a rough estimate may be formed of the ultimate cost of a significant stage towards universal education. At the stage contemplated there would be an eight-year primary school course for all Bathurst children, a four-year course from the age of eight for all boys and for one-third of the girls in the Protectorate, and a 25 per cent. increase in secondary education. This would involve an expenditure on capital account of £163,000 from Government sources, with a further expenditure on buildings and equipment to be met by the districts in the later stages of the development amounting to £180,000. The ultimate recurrent cost to Government would be £164,000 a year, made up as follows:

	£
Protectorate primary schools: cost of teachers' salaries only	90,000
Bathurst primary schools, total cost	32,000
Secondary education	15,000
Teacher training	15,000
Administration	12,000
	<hr/>
	£164,000

There would be a further annual cost for supplies and maintenance of £12,000 falling to be met by the districts, but most of this would be recovered as fees.

309. It is difficult to discover how far the educational development in Sierra Leone is likely to conform to the plan as revised in 1948. The estimated cost of the new proposals for the years 1948-55 was £2 million and they would also have the effect of doubling the annual recurrent expenditure. The following tables show the main items of development and their cost and the sources from which funds are to be obtained.

Estimated Expenditure 1948-55

	Capital cost	Recurrent cost	Total
	£	£	£
Administration	13,500	46,805	60,305
Primary Education, Colony	128,570	111,664	240,234
Primary Education, Protectorate		306,285	306,285
Central Schools, Protectorate	50,000	50,358	100,358
Secondary Schools, Colony	75,775	128,336	204,111
Secondary Schools, Protectorate	152,000	123,125	275,125
Technical Education	75,000	49,000	124,000
Teacher Training	87,250	206,437	293,687
Female Education		33,600	33,600
Further Education	130,000	212,000	342,000
Mass Education	18,000	67,000	85,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£730,095	£1,334,610	£2,064,705

	Capital	Recurrent	Total
	£	£	£
Government (including C D.W.)	672,235	1,088,470	1,760,705
Freetown City Council	31,860	18,118	49,978
Native Administrations		106,882	106,882
Protectorate Mining Benefits Fund (for Central Schools)	26,000	5,140	31,140
Provision already included or guaranteed in Colonial Expenditure Estimates (grants to Colony and Protectorate schools)		116,000	116,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	£730,095	£1,334,610	£2,064,705

Colonial Development and Welfare grants will be arranged so that at the end of the period almost all recurrent expenditure will be found in the territory. Native Administrations will also bear the cost of buildings and equipment at their own schools and may make capital grants to mission assisted schools.

310. The ten-year plan for Nigeria (1946-56) provided for the development of all forms of education. It was revised in 1951 and the items redistributed. General education, which includes grants to secondary schools and training colleges but excludes primary education, was to cost £6,032,340 in the ten-year plan; for 1951-6 it becomes £2,955,380. Technical education, which includes the Nigerian College, technical institutes, and trade centres was to cost £1,115,453, and for 1951-6 becomes £3,932,547. The new costs are allocated geographically as follows:

	North	East	West	Central
	£	£	£	£
General Education	1,103,840	731,370	1,000,000	120,170
Technical Education	714,840	538,243	334,310	2,345,154

311. Allocations between Colonial Development and Welfare Grants and Nigerian revenue would be as follows:

	Colonial Development and Welfare	Nigerian Revenue
	£	£
General Education	2,216,283	739,097
Technical Education	1,763,455	587,818
Nigerian College	509,000	1,081,274
Rural Training Centre	52,290	17,430

312. This revision, like the original plan, omits grants to voluntary agencies for primary education except for training colleges; it also omits grants to local authorities for the development of primary education. This development is dependent upon the availability of central and local

resources. The recurrent cost to Government of education was estimated for 1952 as follows: primary schools, £1,391,900; secondary schools, £143,800; teacher training, £202,000. The total, amounting to £1,737,700, was later revised to £1,880,200.

313. These development plans indicate the great financial problem which is involved, but they are drawn in such different ways that comparisons are difficult. The Gold Coast plan goes farthest towards universal primary education. Some idea of what this would imply for Nigeria may be seen from an approximate calculation made in 1949. Even for a four-year primary course to be available, with moderately good staffing, for all children, the cost would be £5,900,000 each year, as against the present budget of £2 million for all aspects of primary and post-primary education. It would be helpful if the main features of the problem in the four territories could be brought together indicating more clearly than at present the estimated future commitments under development plans both for revenue and capital accounts.

National Revenues

314. In each of these territories there is some improvement in total revenue; but with the possibility of change in the value of exports it is considered necessary to avoid any additional recurrent expenditure. The wealth of these territories is mainly derived from agriculture. Nigeria has the advantage of a wide range of cash crops and a few minerals. Development boards are helping to improve cash crops and there are some improvements envisaged in obtaining zinc, cement and tin, and possibly oil. The Gold Coast is dependent upon a few cash crops, but has considerable revenue from its gold and manganese mines. A hopeful factor in the Gold Coast is that direct taxation forms only about 1 per cent. of revenue. Sierra Leone hopes for an expansion of agricultural produce and of its minerals. The Gambia is restricted to agricultural products. It is thought to be unwise to regard increased export facilities as justifying increased recurrent expenditure. In this connexion the place of the Marketing Boards is of interest. In the Gambia, for instance, Marketing Board funds may be used for educational welfare work for a considerable proportion of the population, whereas in Nigeria the legal restriction upon such use is very great. These funds have been used to support educational work in the Gold Coast, and in Sierra Leone similar funds support many local enterprises.

315. While the Marketing Boards cannot be expected to relieve recurrent expenditure on education, a review of their work in relation to those aspects of capital expenditure on education which are related to production might prove valuable. In all these territories, although the collection of income tax might be improved, most sources of revenue are being brought to a reasonable limit.

316. The problem of the wise use of national resources was presented very concisely in evidence from the Nigeria Union of Teachers.

Within recent years Nigerian education has made notable progress. Of this there is no better index than the increase in school population, which has gone up from about 150,000 in 1928-9 to almost a million in 1948-9. During the same period the Government expenditure from territorial recurrent funds on education has multiplied almost eight times to reach about £2

million. The fact remains that in the country as a whole only one child in four is receiving any form of education, and these figures disguise the fact that in the Northern Provinces, where just over half of the country's twenty-five million people are to be found, the ratio is less than one in twenty-seven.

317. There has been an improved distribution of national resources with increased grants in aid of education, but the traditional attitude to capital investment and the use of available revenue may need to be modified in view of the increasing economic and political importance of the educational service.

318. Education finance is derived from Central Government funds, the funds of local authorities, contributions by voluntary agencies, and school fees. There is very uneven expenditure on education between these territories and within them. The present position also reflects the effect of the economy period from 1931 and the war period. So far as capital expenditure is concerned, this period of loss has to some extent been made good by Colonial Development and Welfare grants. This has stimulated technical and post-primary, particularly grammar, school education, but has not affected primary education to any important extent. The cessation of these grants in 1956 will present problems of recurrent expenditure with which it should be possible to cope. There will, however, be difficulty in meeting the demands of urgent capital programmes.

319. In the following pages an attempt is made to show the need for developing educational standards, the volume of work involved in development plans, and the relative contributions of central and local government in solving the financial problems which will arise.

The Local Contribution: Fees, Rates, Taxes

320. Since in West African territories the national revenue is not increasing in proportion to increasing educational requirements, other sources of educational income must be found if standards are not to be reduced below their present unsatisfactory level.

321. Fees cannot be increased generally in secondary schools without excluding many pupils who would profit from attendance. There are some areas in which fees could be increased in primary schools, but parents are already making contributions other than fees for books, school uniform, and meals, apart from their payments as local taxpayers. In many instances there is also a sacrifice of possible earnings by the child.

322. In many areas fees increase in amount as the child proceeds through the school. In Sierra Leone, for example, fees range from 1s. per month in infant classes to 2s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. per month in Standard VI, though there are remissions for the third child and subsequent children of the same family. Here fees are an important factor as they offset about 7 per cent. of Government expenditure on education.

323. The Baldwin Report (p. 30) recommends that a flat rate should obtain throughout any one range of schooling as the practice of charging more in the higher classes encourages early leaving. It is also considered that a liberal scale of remission for poor children of ability is desirable.

324. In the Gold Coast the abolition of fees is contemplated only for primary schools, and this will not make primary education free since fees form only about one-third of the costs falling upon parents. The reduction and

later the abolition of fees must be related to the stages in the development of education as they are reached by each territory. Provided that there is reasonable remission no serious harm need be done, but a sense of injustice may be created by the retention of fees when education rates or taxes become heavier.

325. The Nigeria Committee on Education (*An Enquiry into the Proposal to Introduce Local Rating in Primary Education in the Eastern Region*, p. 21) adduces the following arguments for using education rates for reducing fees:

- (a) Fees to some extent limit enrolment.
- (b) Fees bear hardly on families which are large or have small income.
- (c) Reduction would be popular.
- (d) Education is a communal as well as a family responsibility.
- (e) Reduced fees would increase the size of small classes and so reduce the need for voluntary contributions in unassisted schools.

It will be seen that voluntary contributions and school fees are closely related in this question of the wise use of the education rate.

326. The amounts of present local contributions vary considerably. Interesting figures were obtained for the Owerri Division of Owerri Province, which show the income and expenditure per child in an area typical of those where a substantial number of children attend primary schools. The net expenditure per child in 1950, amounting to £2 63, was derived as follows:

Parents	41 per cent.
Government	31 "
Local community	19 "
Unknown, but probably from the local community	9 "

327. If local government were responsible for the financing of education, apart from present Government grant, it will be seen that 69 per cent. of the expenditure would fall upon them. In this division this would imply an education rate or tax of approximately 17s. per adult male as compared with other taxes in the division amounting to from 9s. to 12s.

328. This example gives some indication of the financial situation which arises as education expands and it does not take into account the need to improve standards and to make a still closer approach to universal education. It also raises questions of grant-in-aid.

329. Another feature of the situation is presented by areas in which education is neglected either because the local authority has insufficient money for essential local services or because they do not accord to education a sufficiently high place in the order of priorities. It must be remembered that local government has many other claims upon its resources, such as roads, hospitals, dispensaries, and water-supply.

330. Uneven development of education is due partly to varying demands, but is related also to local resources. For example, during the past five years the local expenditure on education in Ashanti has been quite remarkable, while some areas, such as parts of the Sierra Leone Protectorate, are less able to provide for development. The collection of local taxes varies greatly in efficiency.

Moreover, there are other demands upon local revenue which have increased in cost.

331. Instead of a development tax for education, some areas are raising a separate local rate. Considerable thought has been given to this, especially by the Western Nigeria Board of Education and the Eastern House of Assembly. In Western Nigeria almost every Native Authority will be raising an education rate in 1952-3 ranging in amount from 3s. to 5s. per adult male taxpayer. This education rate is in fact an addition to local taxes, which is accounted for separately and the surplus from which may be retained from one year to the next. This is an important new feature, especially in areas where local authorities may now be entrusted with a share in educational administration and advice on the distribution of educational funds. In Nigeria it is hoped that the rates for education will help to avoid increases in the national budget by about 1956. Meantime, rating rules will allow for any surplus to be used for buildings and equipment. More prosperous communities should be able to improve or replace old buildings from the surplus of actual local contributions over local contributions assumed by the Government in making its grants. In some areas an equalizing fund is proposed to help backward areas, and there are sometimes special purposes grants for new projects. This development of an education rate or tax, while helping the financial situation, will also accelerate a demand for universal primary education.

332. An encouraging attitude is reflected in the Minutes of the Ijebu-Igbo Education Committee confirmed in our presence—'Joy was in every heart when it was realised that the rating rules had been approved.' Apparently not all rates are paid in anger.

Government Grants: Principles involved

333. There have been many systems of grants-in-aid in these territories, the most comprehensive being the scheme devised in Nigeria in 1947 when Native Authorities were first regarded as eligible for grant from that year in addition to voluntary agencies. In Eastern Nigeria grant-in-aid averages 13s. 6d. per pupil, but will probably rise to 22s. by 1955. In the Gold Coast there is a Government grant amounting to 60 per cent. of teachers' salaries in primary schools with a special grant for under-developed areas. The local authority will be responsible for primary school and middle school buildings. The Government will distribute whatever funds are available as grant in respect of middle schools. All other education costs will fall upon the Government. Fees have been abolished in primary schools only. In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast the Government pays 80 per cent. of teachers' salaries; fees are retained locally. In Sierra Leone the present grants are restricted to two-thirds of teachers' salaries in primary schools, and it is hoped to reduce this to one-half with no grant for other recurrent expenses. It is hoped to reintroduce 50 per cent. building grants in 1952 in the Protectorate. In new central schools Government will pay all costs less fees (now £7. 10s. per annum) and less any local contribution which can be negotiated.

334. Of the taxes in the northern provinces of the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, 5s. is Government levy and about 10s. for Native Authority purposes. It may be possible to raise the latter to 15s. The new district councils may be allowed to retain the 5s. Government tax plus contributions

from Native Authorities. They will attract specific grants from Government revenue from imports, exports, and income tax.

335. In the Gambia the grant relations between central and local authority, at present not very specific, are being reviewed in the light of the Baldwin Report.

336. In these matters, the Report of the Commission on Revenue Allocation in Nigeria (1951) is important. It distinguishes (p. 54) between allocation according to needs and according to national interests. A time comes in expansion when 'national interest demands an equitable spreading of educational opportunities, so that any additional funds which may become available should be concentrated where education is less developed. . . . But equity does not mean rigid equality.' The principle of needs leads generally to division of finances on a population basis, but there is some danger in this in the omission of reference to the maintenance and improvement of standards during a period of expansion. In this report a special capital grant for the development of education in Northern Nigeria is recommended.

337. Another example of the same problem occurs in the Gambia where, if educational services are to be developed, the chief need is in the Protectorate, which would therefore appear to have a claim on national revenue greater than that of Bathurst, which should raise its own contribution.

338. The municipalities generally appear to be unwilling to levy an education rate or to implement their powers with regard to education. Freetown, for example, is at present unwilling to pay the percentage of the cost of social services recommended in the McDougall Report. There are some signs of a changing attitude, but there is urgent need for grant agreements to be made, particularly since the example of the municipalities would help other parts of these territories.

339. It appears to be desirable that each territory should determine, if possible for a period of years, the proportion of Government and local authority contributions to the educational service. Nigeria, for instance, aims to maintain a relationship of 55 per cent. Central Government grant to 45 per cent. local contribution for primary education. This calculation must allow for preferential treatment for areas which are wealthy or impoverished. It may also need to take into account areas which are apathetic. The following items appear to need consideration:

- (1) Minimum standards should be prescribed for all educational institutions, standards which can be exceeded according to funds available.
- (2) The proportion to be received from rates or taxes in each local education authority area should be agreed but related to grants providing incentives to go above the minimum standards in building, staffing, furniture, equipment, book-supply, and administrative expenses. An additional grant for girls' education is a feature which has become established in some areas and should continue.
- (3) There is value in variety, and variation above minimum standards should be allowed according to local resources and the local desire to establish higher standards in certain items or for certain schools.
- (4) School building should be separately itemized in the

grant-in-aid in order to ensure the minimum control necessary.

- (5) Maximum school fees may need to be fixed from time to time. For some time, in many areas, the education rate which can be maintained may only permit freedom from primary school fees in existing schools, together with some improvement in standards of staffing.
- (6) A special grant will be necessary for backward areas.

340. The increasing emphasis upon local rates or taxes may imply for the people paying them freedom from school fees and a reduction in voluntary contributions. It may also involve a merging in the rates of local building efforts which usually take the form of voluntary labour in rural areas and a financial contribution in townships. There is a welcome development of loans schemes for capital works and, if possible, this should be made available to all local education authorities. Any financial regulations made, as a basis for grants-in-aid, should be put into sufficiently simple form for local use.

Pace and Priorities

341. An example of the financial problem involved in the development of the educational service may be seen from a consideration of the main items of such expenditure in Nigeria. Out of the probable annual cost of education to the Government, say £3,000,000, £1,000,000 must go to higher education—the University College at Ibadan, its Medical Faculty and School, and the new College of Technology. The Government grants for primary and secondary education are estimated for 1952 as £1,880,200. Thus the development of higher education is taking funds which are badly needed for the development of primary and secondary education. Moreover, higher education will not have a sound basis unless secondary-grammar and secondary-technical education are developed, since these foundations are at present insufficiently developed as to both quality and quantity. A similar situation arises with regard to assistance to Fourah Bay College in relation to other educational expenditure in Sierra Leone.

342. It would appear that two decisions are desirable:

- (1) Government should be responsible for all higher education, including the grammar and technical forms of post-primary education.
- (2) Primary education should be a local responsibility with Government help. This should start at an agreed figure which must be reduced unless national revenue increases. In this connexion compulsory rating will be desirable, with regulations as to minimum standards for grant-in-aid.

343. It is difficult to say whether a sufficiently high priority is being given in West Africa to the provision of money for education. There is no doubt about the social and economic importance of the educational service and of the urgent need for its development. There are also areas in which there is at the present time danger of a sense of frustration. Probably the development of local education rates or taxes would help to relate educational needs to local resources and may, through the system of grants-in-aid, bring new pressure to bear on the national budget. Education undoubtedly has in these territories a high priority politically and this must be borne in mind when there is

some doubt whether there should be a departure from traditional forms of national finance. It may be that some redistribution of national expenditure is desirable where the people are anxious about the development of this particular service.

344. A wise statement is made in the Memorandum of 1925, 'a policy which aims at the improvement of the conditions of the people must be a primary concern of Government and one of the first charges on its revenue'.

IO. CONCLUSION

345. To the reader in West Africa this report may well raise more questions than it answers. That is inevitable since the visitor may ask questions which can be answered only from long experience. Again, the visitor is apt to concentrate his attention on what remains to be done rather than on what has already been accomplished, and for this reason the report may seem to those who have long wrestled with these problems in the field to be unduly critical. Accordingly it may be well to conclude with some reference to the hopeful features of the situation.

346. It is only when it is viewed in relation to the vast needs of the present that the past educational achievements on the West Coast can be regarded as small. Regarded in themselves they are great. There are schools with long histories, of which they are justly proud, which need not fear comparison with schools anywhere. The persistent faith of missionaries, the ingenuity of educational administrators, and the willing sacrifice of local Africans have conspired to bring large numbers of schools into existence. It is easy to say in retrospect that what was done might in this respect or that have been better done; it is not so easy to go back in history and to see plainly how, with all the difficulties to be faced, good intention could more wisely have been guided into practical action. The lesson for the future is that the achievements of the past show how great are the spiritual resources which can be mobilized for educational effort on the West Coast.

347. There is no *a priori* ground on which it may be assumed that people of different races have the same physical, intellectual, or moral potentialities. What any race can achieve in any of these directions is a question of fact to be demonstrated by actual achievement. At any stage a good index is what is achieved by the ablest people under the most favourable conditions. Individual Africans have achieved distinction as judges, surgeons, business men, nurses, in the creative arts, and in other walks of life. What is more, they have achieved the culture that is the mark of a truly educated person. Their numbers, though small in relation to the whole African population, are growing and are already substantial. It is not to be supposed that the ordinary run of people would reach this level of achievement however favourable the circumstances might be, but we may at least assume that, if there were wider opportunities, more would reach this level and very many more reach a lower though worth-while level. To all this may be added the achievement of Africans in the skilled trades whenever sound instruction has been provided. The potentialities of the West African have been demonstrated by actual achievement.

348. These are some of the substantial assets with which West Africa faces the future, of which the one thing that can be said with certainty is that it will involve great

changes which will affect African life at every level. The root of many of these changes will be the extension and widening of communications between Africans in different parts and between Africans and other nations. Wide communications are no new phenomenon on the Coast. The Hausa trader has come and gone throughout West Africa for centuries. For many years men from the north have come down to work in the Ashanti mines for long spells and then gone back home. Muslims have covered the breadth of Africa on pilgrimage. The traders on the coast and in the rivers have carried on their business with the outside world. This measure of communication was assimilated with the old forms of African life. But the pace has quickened for many reasons, and not least because so many West African soldiers fought in distant lands. The African of the future will live in a world in which he is much more conscious of what is going on outside his town or village than his fathers were. He will be much more conscious that he belongs to an African nation which is wider than his own tribe or tribal confederacy, and he will take a more active part in determining the affairs of that nation. All these changes have their direct educational implications and, if they are to be carried through successfully, African education must be developed in advance to assist them.

349. Partly by reason of the knowledge that comes from these wider communications, the African will not be content with what satisfied his fathers in the standards of food, clothing, furniture, and housing and the amenities of life. The satisfaction of his new needs will impel further changes. Old and inefficient methods of labour must go. There must be a better organization and use of economic resources. These changes again have their direct educational implications. Through all these changes the things that are of value in the old African way of life must be preserved and the African must be prepared to face moral problems in new and strange forms. Here again education asserts its paramount importance.

350. These are some of the considerations which make education, always important in the affairs of a nation, of special importance to the West African peoples at this time. In the past a heavy responsibility has rested upon education officers, missionaries, and teachers, backed in their efforts by the small but influential body of educated African opinion. In spite of great difficulties the achievement has been real and substantial. In future the responsibility will be more widely shared, and African Ministers, Legislative Councils, and Assemblies, and the new local government authorities will play a determining role. There is solid ground for hope that the old achievements will be carried forward with renewed vigour to the greater achievements of the future.

Report of the East and Central Africa Study Group

PART I BACKGROUND

I. THE NATURE OF OUR WORK

1. THE general nature of our work was outlined in a 'Blue Book' which was circulated freely in the territories we were to visit. The content of this book is too extensive to quote fully in this report, but our instructions may briefly be summarized as being to study the present position of African primary and secondary education and to consult those working in the field, both African and European, about future progress. It will be realized that while our immediate recommendations can be definite, those relating to the future must become increasingly generalized as we look farther and farther ahead. The study of secondary education inevitably led us to consider technical, agricultural, and university education, for no study of secondary education would otherwise have been sufficiently comprehensive.

2. Two members of the group left England by sea on 6 July 1951, and on the way out we were able to spend several days at Mombasa, Tanga, Zanzibar, and Dar-es-Salaam. In these places we made preliminary contacts with those working in the field of education, discussed their problems with them and saw schools at work, before landing finally at Beira. We went by train to Limbe, where our work began systematically in Nyasaland and where the third member of the group joined us. After Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Pemba, Uganda, Somaliland, and Kenya were visited in succession. In each territory we met as many people as possible representing a wide range of interests and viewpoints, and we did our best to make a comprehensive survey of educational activities. We discussed the problems of African education with Africans, Asians, and Europeans in all kinds of occupation; with officials and unofficials, with churchmen and laymen, with men, women, and children. We made our procedure as informal as we could, talking things over

with people in their own homes and places of business and seeing schools at work under conditions as normal as possible and generally we were able to establish cordial, friendly, and informal relations. In this way we were able to know many people, their views, their conditions, and their ways of life in a manner that would not have been possible through a more formal approach. We were entertained in their homes by Africans and Europeans alike, and some of us occasionally taught in African schools to help us to assess more effectively the personal quality and professional standards of teachers and children.

3. A very pleasant interlude was a flying visit which we paid to Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia to meet the members of the Kerr Commission which was investigating African education in that territory. With them we discussed our problems and theirs and we gladly pay tribute to the courtesy and friendliness with which they received us and to the help we derived from our visit. Everywhere and in every territory, however, we were received with great courtesy and friendliness, and everyone seemed to take pleasure in giving us assistance. Indeed, some people took an amount of trouble on our behalf which we felt we had no right to expect from anybody and at times we were quite embarrassed by the amount of kindness we received. We would like all those who may read this report and may have met us in the course of our travels to realize with what gratitude we remember them and with what pleasure we look back on the many friendships we made.

4. We left Entebbe by air on 22 February 1952, and reached London on the following day, nearly eight months from the time we left England, after a most arduous experience but one of intense interest. We calculate that we covered altogether just over 30,000 miles.

2. THE BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION

5. This report is written in the hope that it will be of some lasting use to the territories concerned and as a contribution to the Conference at Cambridge in September 1952. Therefore we can safely assume an intimate knowledge of African conditions in those to whom our report is addressed. What we shall try to do is to outline

some of the common factors and problems that have impressed themselves on us and have influenced our thinking and recommendations. It is clear that we are bound to be involved in certain generalizations to which legitimate exception can often be taken, but we freely admit this danger and at the same time wish to lay special emphasis

on the general principles that emerge. We, as visitors, are more likely to see the wood than the trees. The inhabitants of each territory will probably be more aware of the trees among which they live than of the vista of the whole wood. Between us, we should be able to get a more comprehensive and useful picture than we could do apart, for we have a common aim, that of putting at the disposal of the people of African territories all the experience and experiment in educational administration and practice that is available from the joint resources of ourselves and of those in the territories. We hope that we shall be able to make some practicable and acceptable suggestions for organization and to offer facilities in professional fields that will enable the Colonial territories and the United Kingdom to benefit mutually from these exchanges of their educational experiences.

6. The suggestions made are largely based on a synthesis of the varying practices and systems seen during the tour. It is realized that the shortage of trained and experienced staff, both European and African, throws an exceedingly heavy burden on the few who have to carry the day-to-day routine work of education and who cannot therefore afford to give the time they would wish to educational ventures and experiment. It is realized, too, that in their infrequent leaves (and this applies especially to those in voluntary agencies), the keen teachers and teacher trainers, on their own initiative take every opportunity of keeping abreast with modern developments in education. The authors want to make this acknowledgement now lest in the chapters that follow they should seem to ignore what is already being done and to fail to recognize that what is suggested in general terms for widespread consideration and action is already often happening in many schools and training colleges.

7. We have been constantly and increasingly aware during our journeyings of certain aspects of African life and history. Africa is recorded from Biblical times, through migrations, through trade contacts in the Middle Ages with merchants from the East, with trading discoverers and pioneer venturers from Portugal and Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and through Muslim penetration. All these were spasmodic and directed to the personal gain of the intruders and only incidentally affected the African. Direct and sustained contact with outsiders only began when the trail was blazed by missionary explorers in the nineteenth century and when the desire to bring Christianity, coupled with growing trade, the need for raw materials, and for the prestige of political expansion brought Europeans into lasting relations with East and Central Africa. As far as territories inside the British Commonwealth are concerned, British Government has been firmly established for less than fifty years and education organized and sponsored by Government is often only twenty-five years old and sometimes less than that. Two world wars, and the world-wide financial crisis from 1931 onwards, have delayed and disorganized development. The wonder is, not that so much remains to be done but that so much has been accomplished in such a short time and in the face of so many difficulties.

8. The speed and intensity of the impact of modern civilization is so well known that it may not appear worth comment, but there are still persons in the United Kingdom and elsewhere who tell us that it is a mistake to

attempt to educate the African, that he is happy in his ignorance and should be left in that condition. The number of people who hold that view is certainly diminishing, but those who still hold it fail to realize that civilization is not leaving the African in his ignorance, that Africa is on the march, and that new influences of all kinds are crowding in. If education does not bring the right formative influences to bear, then the wrong ones will have the field all to themselves, and disaster is certain. Everywhere civilization is penetrating. A prominent African said to us: 'In this country every European is a teacher and my people learn from him whatever he teaches even if he does not mean to teach at all.' This is abundantly true, and we feel constrained to say that some Europeans are bad teachers. Apart from those, mercifully only a few, who set a bad example, there are those who have neither the patience nor the capacity to lead a young people on the right lines. Whether we like it or not, trade and commerce, the wireless and the cinema and the growth of communications are rapidly altering the whole way of life for Africans. The Bantu peoples have become great travellers. Streams of buses, apparently top-heavy with baggage and crowded with Africans, speed along the roads of East Africa in clouds of dust. The railway trains are packed with them and they ride on bicycles all over the place, often carrying with them on the bicycle their wives, families, and most of their personal possessions. Because of the speed and intensity of the impact of European on African ideas, all Europeans need constantly to be giving thought to two matters of great significance; in the first place they must look critically at all European ideas so as to select what is likely to be most helpful to Africa; and at the same time they must make every effort to understand African ideas so that they are in a position to help the African to make what for him is bound to be a most difficult adjustment.

9. In each territory there is a problem of a plural society, as the following table shows.

Territory	Area sq. miles approx.	Population			
		African	Arab	Asian	European
Nyasaland . . .	37,000	2,500,000		5,000	4,000
Northern Rhodesia . . .	290,000	1,650,000		2,500	40,000
Tanganyika . . .	365,000	7,407,500		59,000	16,000
Zanzibar . . .	1,000	250,000		16,000	300
Uganda . . .	200,000	5,057,000		40,000	3,000
British Somaliland . . .	68,000	500,000			250
Kenya . . .	225,000	5,250,000	25,000	100,000	30,000

This table shows that we are dealing with a population of about half that of England and Wales, living in an area about twenty times as large. Much of what we say, however, does not apply to the Territories of Zanzibar and Somaliland and we deal separately with their particular problems.

10. Future development has to take into account the legitimate aspirations of each group while evolving a partnership which in practice will 'ensure that Africans are helped along the path of economic, social and political progress'. The nature of this problem varies, naturally, in each territory, and it is encouraging to see how the leaders of each racial group are appreciating the importance of co-operation even if there is not complete agreement on its nature. Another feature of the plural societies is the presence of big religious groups—Christianity and Islam

are both strongly and permanently entrenched—and future harmonious development in politics, administration, and social services depends to a large extent on the degree of respect and mutual toleration that grows between them. For this is not only a difference in religion; it is the difference between two cultures; the Christian culture drawing its strength predominantly from the West in spite of its cradle in Palestine; and the Muslim culture rooted in the life, language, and tradition of the Middle East.

11. While recognizing the predominantly rural nature of life in these African territories, it is most important that we should expressly recognize the new feature of stabilizing urban life and labour. This need not be a matter for regret, but experience in England and elsewhere has made us aware of the dangers inherent in uncontrolled urban development with its problems of health, housing, recreation, education, employment, and need for public utility services. Already events have overtaken planning in some parts of Africa, where soulless rows of closely packed small

uniform houses in African locations and townships are reproducing the conditions and problems of the Industrial Revolution in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, there are opportunities here for social planning and formal and informal education that arouse interest and enthusiasm, as we have already seen.

12. We shall return to all these problems many times during our report. We draw attention to them now because we want to reassure the people in the territories we visited that we see in a full, comprehensive, and balanced education one of the major solvents of these problems. Education as we conceive it reaches out and touches lives of men and women from earliest childhood to old age. It interests itself in their environment and their social organization, their work and their leisure, their personal development and their community life. As such it is equally the concern of the educationalist, the administrator, the politician, and the specialist, those engaged in commerce and industry, and of the African citizen in town and country.

3. THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

13. Many of our observations and recommendations relate to the way in which African territories are governed. Legislative and Executive Councils, whose function is described in their names, are joined with the several Governors in ruling the territories from the centre. Each territory is divided into a number of Provinces and the Provinces are again divided into Districts with Provincial and District Commissioners in general charge of the several areas so described, each District Commissioner being immediately responsible to a Provincial Commissioner and the latter to the Governor in Council. Government has generally made use also of the existing tribal constitution in the local government of Africans, chiefs, or headmen exercising authority under District Commissioners or District Councils. Sometimes these chiefs inherit their positions, but more usually they are nominated by Government or elected by their peoples. Usually they receive a salary and sometimes they are assisted by the elders of the tribe in their judicial and executive functions. Most of the territories have developed district councils which may be advisory to their district commissioner or may be joined with him in executive functions in accordance with the degree of development which the people have reached. Uganda has proceeded further and has County Councils within its districts and Parish Councils within its counties, and Kenya is proposing to develop local bodies on somewhat similar lines. All the various councils have begun with nominated members and advisory functions, but as the people of the various territories gain political experience and an increasing sense of responsibility, the councils become elected either partially or completely and their powers develop by degrees from the advisory to the executive stage. The central legislative and executive councils have also emerged gradually from a membership which was at first wholly official to a constitution in which elected or nominated unofficial members from all races are in a majority over the official members. Some of the territories have not yet reached this stage, but in those that have it

will be realized that no ordinance can be enacted unless it is democratically approved. There is, of course, a great difficulty in conducting elections among Africans because only a small fraction of them can read or write: another reason why education must expand quickly.

14. The control of educational policy and action is on lines similar to those described above. There is a Central Advisory Committee for African Education in each territory, of which the Director of Education is usually Chairman and on which Africans, missions, teachers, and Government departments are represented. In some territories these Central Advisory Committees lead an active and useful life, but in other territories we have regretted to see that their duties have become much too formal, with the result that their importance and usefulness are diminished. The Director of Education, his deputy and assistants work from headquarters through Provincial Education Officers, and the most advanced territories have also appointed District Education Officers. These officers are intended to work closely with their several commissioners and with their opposite numbers from other departments and usually they do so, forming provincial and district teams. It will be realized that it is of vital importance that the provincial education officer should work in the closest harmony with the provincial medical officer and the provincial agricultural officer. In places we saw how fruitful the results of such team-work could be. Where personal antipathies prevented this relationship from becoming fully effective the loss was great, for the teachers engaged in agricultural education in the schools, for example, were deprived of technical assistance from the agricultural department. Government in territories such as these tends to a certain degree to be autocratic in character and under such conditions personal qualities and personal relationships become of outstanding importance. A progressive director of education who possesses driving power has much more scope than in England for the exercise of these qualities, while a director who possesses

mainly powers of resistance can hold up development and spread frustration. Another factor of great importance under such conditions is that of continuity of service in one area, and we have noted many instances of the lack of it. We were told, for example, that one territory has had six directors or acting directors of education in five years and of one big secondary school which has had five headmasters in four years. We saw and were given details of another secondary school where an enthusiastic agricultural teacher was allowed to spend nearly £1,000 on developing a school farm. Before the work was finished he went on leave and was transferred to another school when his leave was over. During his absence the farm has reverted largely to bush and most of the money spent on it has been wasted. The system of giving long leave between tours of duty in East and Central Africa must of necessity break continuity of contact to a considerable extent and we realize that other changes must occur through retirement and promotion. Nevertheless the instances encountered during our travels where officials and teachers had been transferred when they were doing good work, and before that work had had a chance to bear fruit, forced us to the conclusion that insufficient attention is often paid to this important principle of continuity. Annual leave of about eight weeks would enable continuity of personal relations to be retained in the field and would secure for schools and colleges no break in subject teaching to higher examination standards. In territories where each district may have its own vernacular and its own characteristics and where each school has its own special features, needs, and qualities, it may well be a tragedy for a man to be transferred just as soon as he has learnt his job and begun to do it really well with the full support and confidence of the people.

15. We suggest, therefore, that the principle of continuity of service among officers and teachers should receive far more attention in future from those in authority and that in this connexion the possibilities of shorter and more frequent leave periods should be explored.

16. The growth of Local Education Authorities is a form of local government which naturally interested us very much during our inquiries. Some territories are still without these bodies, and then provincial education officers and district commissioners or district education officers, where these exist, deal directly with school managers or local chiefs and headmen concerning schools. In other areas local education authorities are passing through the same stages already noted in this report, those of nomination moving on to election and of advisory functions merging into executive powers. A very usual constitution for a local education authority is that it consists of representatives of the local African district council and representatives of the various missions which provide schools in the area concerned. In a few instances representatives of the local teachers are added. These local education authorities have a variety of names and functions, but usually their main function is to survey the education needs of their area and advise on the necessity for new schools and, where that necessity is proved, on the body which should provide the new school. In some instances they also advise on the allocation of teachers and money to different schools. Where African district councils exist they themselves sometimes provide schools and

manage them, but more commonly a school which is not provided by a mission is provided by what is often called a Local Native Authority. In some territories the Local Native Authority is a chief or headman, in others the Local Native Authority is a group of chiefs, and in others again the Local Native Authority is an elected or nominated council. A Local Native Authority resembles a district council in that it has general powers and duties and does not deal only with education.

17. Some may think that a local education authority ought to be called an education committee and should be a committee of the local African district council, and we agree that this is the form which the local education authority ought finally to assume. It must be remembered, however, that many African district councils are as yet lacking in experience and knowledge and need considerable supervision in their early stages to prevent them from making serious financial and other mistakes. For that reason local education authorities are generally constituted as separate entities and where they dispense money they draw their funds from Government or from local African authorities.

18. We suggest therefore that local education authorities should finally be committees of African district councils, but that they should reach that constitution through the following successive stages:

- (a) a nominated advisory body;
- (b) an advisory body representative of the African district council, the missions, and the teachers in the area, but independent of the district council;
- (c) a body constituted as in (b) above, but with executive functions; and
- (d) a committee of the district council with added members representative of the missions or Churches in the area and of the local teachers, to which the district council should be required to delegate all functions relating to education except the approval of the annual estimates. These estimates would then be framed by the education committee and be subject to approval by the district council, which would then leave spending within the estimates entirely to the education committee during the ensuing year.

The Governor in Council in each territory would decide on the stage in the above development appropriate to the territory concerned or to different parts of it.

19. The immediate control of secondary schools is in the hands of bodies called Governors, while corresponding bodies or individuals for primary schools are called Managers. This nomenclature follows the English pattern, but we are of opinion that the distinction in Africa is unnecessary and inadvisable. We suggest therefore that the bodies in immediate control of all schools should be named School Governors.

20. It is necessary to make a clear distinction between the duties of local education authorities and those of school governors. We have already indicated that local education authorities are generally called upon to make and keep up to date surveys of the educational needs of their several areas and that in addition they are sometimes responsible for allocating teachers and money between the schools for which they are responsible. Often the duties of

local education authorities are confined to primary schools, but no doubt other schools will be included in their purview as they gain experience in administration. Their duties will also pass from the advisory to the executive stage by degrees as they prove their capacity. On the other hand, the duties of school governors as we see them are as follows:

- (a) To keep in constant touch with the life of the school and to make sure that its general atmosphere is good.
- (b) Supervision of religious education.
- (c) Supervision of the attendance of teachers and pupils, and in this connexion to keep always in view the prevention of wastage of pupils during the school course.
- (d) To make sure that the age-range of pupils in the different classes and the number of pupils per class is in accordance with the instructions of the education department.
- (e) The care of buildings and grounds, including the school garden and livestock if any, and the care and proper supply of furniture and teaching equipment.
- (f) Supervision of school registers and other school records.
- (g) Welfare of pupils, particularly in boarding schools, where the governors should see that the dormitories, food, clothing, and washing arrangements are as they should be. In day schools also the welfare of the pupils should be the concern of the governors.

We see no reason why the actual payment of salaries to the teachers should not be in the hands of the governors if they wish to make these payments, as we understand some governors do. The salaries of teachers would, of course, be fixed by Government and the teachers would give receipts on receiving their pay, which would be forwarded to local education authorities by the governors.

21. In the discharge of all their duties, the governors should constantly have in mind the respect which they owe to the position of the head teacher and his staff and should be careful not to do anything to diminish the rightful authority of the teachers in the school and in the community in which the latter work. We appreciate the fact that African head teachers often lack experience and need more supervision and guidance than their opposite numbers in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, we have spent some time in schools where African headmasters were controlling over 1,000 pupils and the corresponding number of teachers, and we feel sure that given good selection and afterwards adequate support from their governors, African headmasters can often do more and work more independently than authority allows them to do today.

22. School governors are now appointed by the body which provides the school in question, that body being either Government, a local education authority, a Native Authority, a Church, or a mission. Generally Government schools, local education authority schools, and Native Authority schools are governed by small committees appointed by the providing body, while mission schools are more often governed by a single individual appointed by the mission. We have seen African school committees doing excellent work. We shall have more to say on this subject in our chapters on missions and Churches and on the Moral Problem.

23. One of the most important problems which Government in Africa has to face today is the extent to which at any given time Africans shall become partners in government. Complete self-government on a democratic basis by all the people of a territory working together is the undoubted goal and the only questions are the means and the speed of the progress towards that goal. Those problems, however, call for the exercise of very great ability, constant thought, and constant experiment on the part of those who now rule these territories. If the Africans are not given their share in government as fast as their capacity allows, their energies may be diverted into irresponsible channels. On the other hand, if they are given powers in excess of their capacity to discharge them properly, injustice, inefficiency, and financial chaos are the result. Our problem in this connexion is the government of education and we urge once more the great importance of the following points:

- (a) that every individual exercising autocratic powers for the time being should have the help of an advisory committee of Africans which should become increasingly executive as time goes on,
- (b) that local bodies such as school governors and local education authorities afford an excellent training ground for work of wider responsibility; and
- (c) that the young educated men and women must be given a fair share of authority, if necessary by nomination, for otherwise the older men will monopolize government and the young people will become disaffected and discouraged.

24. We feel that we must not close this chapter without paying a well-deserved tribute to the work of the directors of education and their staffs and particularly to their ability, energy, and self-sacrifice. They have still much to do, but we are sure that never in the history of education have so few done so much good work in such a short time and with such limited resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 3

RECOMMENDATION NO. 1

We recommend that the principle of continuity of service among officers and teachers should receive far more attention in future from those in authority and that in this connexion the possibilities of shorter and more frequent leave periods should be explored.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 2

We recommend that local education authorities should finally be committees of African district councils, but that they should reach that constitution through the following successive stages:

- (a) a nominated advisory body;

- (b) an advisory body representative of the African district council, the missions, and the teachers in the area, but independent of the district council;
- (c) a body constituted as in (b) above, but with executive functions; and
- (d) a committee of the district council with added members representative of the missions or Churches in the area and of the local teachers, to which the district council should be required to delegate all functions relating to education except the approval of the annual estimates. These estimates should then be framed by the education committee and be sub-

ject to approval by the district council, which would then leave spending within the estimates entirely to the education committee during the ensuing year.

The Governor in Council in each territory would decide on the stage in the above development appropriate to the territory concerned or to different parts of it.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 3

We recommend that the bodies in immediate control of all schools should be named school governors.

4. THE MISSIONS AND THE CHURCHES

25. It is the historical role of the Churches to be the trail blazers in any ventures that affect the well-being of people whether in education, health, or the welfare of the young, the old, or the handicapped. The Churches have made the initial experiments, have learnt how to bring success out of failure, have been able to show the way, and have then handed over their achievements to Governments who develop systems from these pioneer efforts. The Churches have then been free to exchange the majority of these kinds of responsibilities for the freedom to undertake new enterprises.

26. The story of voluntary agencies in Colonial territories has not deviated much from this pattern, and African and European alike know and willingly acknowledge how much the territories owe to the efforts of the voluntary agencies in the days before administration developed the positive policy which it now pursues in all spheres of activity affecting the welfare of the people. It is equally clear that in future, the voluntary agencies have a changing role to play in society particularly as it affects education. Here there is a double issue, for on the one hand the missions are giving way to local Churches, and on the other those Churches, because they are young and without large financial resources behind them, are finding that they cannot undertake to the same degree the physical and material responsibilities in the provision of expanding public social services.

27. These local Churches are one of the most hopeful and potentially effective forces in the life of African territories. They include in their membership all Christians, missionaries and Africans, settlers and overseas officers of the Government and their families, together with those engaged in industry, banking, and commerce. The educational responsibility for Christian citizenship can then be seen as the heritage of them all, and not the preserve of the missions and the African Christians. The missionaries have come from Europe, America, or one of the British Dominions to spread the Gospel among the Africans. To a considerable extent already these missionaries have founded African Churches ministered to by African bishops and clergy, and there is no doubt that this process will continue until African Churches are the rule and the continued presence of missionaries the exception. It may be said that the job of the missions is to make their work no longer necessary.

28. The future of these territories is bound up with the development of local responsibility, and it is most important that the new Churches should be so in harmony with the aspirations of local peoples that they need not fear for the lack of personal and financial support from them in the work they do in education and welfare. In the present position a great deal, most, in fact, in some territories, of the practice of education is in the hands of voluntary agencies and local Churches. Education is a public social service and as such each citizen has the right to expect a plan for its development by which he will have as good a chance as his neighbour of benefiting from it, whatever his race or creed. Expansion on this scale is costly in money, buildings, equipment, and most of all in man-power. Churches in the United Kingdom have found the burden intolerable and have had to revise their policy and concentrate their efforts in certain key directions designed to make the influence of denominational religion on education as effective as possible with more limited resources. A similar position faces the voluntary agencies in Africa today.

29. A new approach will, in fact, greatly strengthen the work of the voluntary agencies, but the principles on which it is to be made must be accepted whole-heartedly. It will be worth concluding this chapter therefore by a short general statement of the principles on which such a new relationship might be built.

30. It can be claimed that the school in which the best kind of Christian education can be given is not the multi-denominational but the uni-denominational school, for two main reasons:

- (a) in such a school, all subjects in the curriculum can be taught as aspects of religious education and so the false dichotomy of religious and secular education can be avoided, and
- (b) the close relationship of a school to an adult religious society enables an easy and natural transition to be made from membership of a juvenile to an adult religious community.

It does not, however, follow from this view that the direction, government, inspection, or supervision of such a school should be solely in the hands of Church authorities. There are, in fact, two dangers in such a position. The first danger is that narrowly religious pressures tend to

determine the outcome of broad educational questions. The second is that the work of education tends to be regarded as a means to an end instead of an end in itself; and when this happens there is always some sacrifice of child to adult interests. In any case the purely practical consideration that in some areas parents are members of several Churches, or of none, forces the Government to provide multi-denominational schools and to determine their status. But this consideration equally does not imply that the government and supervision of such schools should be solely in Government hands.

31. A partnership between Church and State in education in fact exists and is in principle desirable. Such a partnership would need to be worked out even if all the citizens of a State were Church members. When they are not, the ordinary citizen naturally demands education for his children in return for financial contributions made to the Government, and so education has to be thought of not only as a preparation for the religious life but also for the life of citizenship.

32. A very brief statement of the main aim of a Christian Church is that it exists to spread the Gospel, to develop the life of the Church, and to prepare men for their eternal destiny. Education and child-care are part of this work, but not the whole, and so for Church authorities education may come to play an important but ancillary role. But in education single-mindedness is absolutely vital, for the child at school must be given a life which springs from the knowledge of him as a complete child and not an incomplete adult. He must be treated as an individual personality with his own rights at every stage of growth. This kind of knowledge of the child calls not only for insight but for professional knowledge, training, and skill. Unless those who are responsible for education have this professional skill and single-mindedness about education, then those whom they educate will come, like themselves, to hold the view that education is only a means to an end; to a better job, or more money, or social advancement. We have been told, almost *ad nauseam*, that very few Africans perceive the value of education for its own sake or as a way to a rich life full of service. If that is true, part of the blame must rest on those who have not themselves been single-minded about education but have used schools to catch converts or to secure bases for the occupation of sectarian territory. Undeserved as it may be, one of the tragic things in African education is that so many Africans think that the Churches educate for ulterior motives whilst Government agencies are single-minded. Only the striking of a new relationship between Church and State in African education will remove this spiritual obstacle in the path of progress. One of the great creative tasks of the future is the working out of a new partnership which shall be dynamic and not static. Man's citizenship is in an 'Abiding City', but he has also to exercise his citizenship in a temporal society and he must be educated for this dual citizenship. We appreciate that this is the aim of both Church and State and we realize that a great deal depends on the success of this partnership, in which Africans accept this dual citizenship.

33. The missionaries represent every form of Christian faith, and it must be admitted that among them are representatives of some religious sects with extraordinary names and some queer beliefs. In a land where freedom is cher-

ished we realize the great difficulty of the Government in excluding freakish religions even among a young people who have not yet acquired the stability and the background which enables them to judge calmly for themselves. We feel, however, that the Government should keep a close eye on the eccentric sects and should not hesitate to curb the activities of those which are promoting practices which are harmful to the Africans. Among the missionaries who represent the well-established and venerated religions of the world, we met innumerable examples of mutual respect as well as of active co-operation. But sometimes there is competition which harms the work of all missionaries and hinders the spread of Christianity among the Africans. We realize that it is impossible for an earnest churchman to compromise with his principles, but toleration and respect for the principles of others are greatly needed in Africa. The great hope for the future lies in the complete co-operation among all missionaries and churchmen in the fight against the powers of darkness and ignorance.

34. Many missionaries who come to work in these British Protectorates and Colonies are of alien birth, speech, and upbringing and they have not grown up in the tradition of British institutions nor of allegiance to the Head of the British Commonwealth. They sometimes speak English very badly and in a few instances their social standards are low. Christian Churches in these critical times have a special duty to see that the representatives they send to spread Christianity among the Africans can represent the Churches worthily in all respects. Those engaged in education particularly should be able to speak English really well, for English is the recognized medium of instruction in all schools beyond the primary stage and sometimes in the primary stage also. Training should also be given in the history and meaning of British institutions. We realize that some of the Churches are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit missionaries for work in Africa, but nevertheless we urge with confidence that quality must be maintained at all costs.

35. Missionaries connected with educational work need, if they are to be successful, to be good managers of human beings. Missions should not prejudice their position in the eyes of Europeans and Africans alike by bad management of schools. In this respect as in others, a great constructive work lies ahead for the Churches. We cannot conceal from ourselves or others that many representatives of African bodies who gave evidence to us showed strong anti-missionary feeling and told us that in their opinion the connexion of the Churches and missions with education should come to a speedy end. We have taken a lot of trouble in trying to analyse the causes for this feeling, which we deplore. To some extent no doubt it springs from a desire for the emancipation of Africans from European control, but that is by no means the only reason for its existence. The autocratic control of schools is usually another cause. If the manager or governors exercising complete control over groups of schools have little knowledge of education, little knowledge of business management, and little knowledge of the leadership of human beings, then discontented or unconscientious teachers, dilapidated school buildings, untidy school gardens and grounds, and the misuse or scarcity of school equipment are often signs of the damage done. Here again the Churches must attack with vigour a constructive task if

they are to continue to hold the position in the educational system which we consider essential. Not only must they see that their representatives are efficient but they must also be prepared to make their system of school government increasingly African and increasingly democratic. In this respect they must proceed as fast as the experience and capacity of Africans allow and they must do all they can to educate Christian Africans in school government.

36. We would also urge that the missions with so much religious work to do should not increase their responsibilities in education beyond what is required for school government and religious education. One territory, Kenya, as a result of a report by a committee under the chairmanship of Bishop Beecher to which we shall refer in more detail later, is now beginning to make the missions largely responsible for the professional supervision of teaching in mission schools. We think this is a mistake, for, apart from the unnecessary diversion of the energies of missions from religious work which is thus involved, we feel sure that the supervisory teams, staffed by the missions, which are to oversee the teaching in the schools will to some extent

undermine the authority of head teachers, will cause friction among the different missions and will overlap the work of each other and the work of the Government. In any area there will be at work on the professional supervision of teaching a Protestant supervisory team, a Roman Catholic supervisory team, and one or more education officers employed by the Government.

37. When the government of a school, either by a mission or a local authority, continues to be grossly inefficient in spite of repeated appeals and warnings, the Government is driven to threaten withdrawal of grant. This is no real sanction, however, for withdrawal of grant would usually mean the closure of a school which is badly needed. A real sanction is needed to meet instances of continued gross inefficiency. We suggest, therefore, that the Governor in Council shall have power, after due warning, to relieve school governors who are grossly inefficient of their duties for such period as seems to him to be necessary and to nominate in their place another governor or governors selected by him.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 4

RECOMMENDATION NO. 4

We recommend that the missions and Churches should continue to be closely associated with the work and government of schools as defined in this chapter, but the professional supervision of all teaching except that of religious education should remain in the hands of qualified officers appointed and employed by the Government.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 5

We recommend that the Governor in Council shall have power, after due warning, to relieve of their duties for such period as seems to him to be necessary school governors who are grossly inefficient and to nominate in their place another governor or governors selected by him.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 6

We recommend that eventually all grant-aided schools should become at the same time State schools and religious schools, with governing bodies representative of the

African local authorities and the African Church or Churches, and that as an immediate step in that direction every Government or Native Authority school should have a governing body on which missions working in the locality should be represented, while every mission school or group of schools should have an advisory committee on which the African local authority should be represented; this advisory committee to become a governing body in due course.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 7

We recommend that in each territory there should be a balance between the schools provided by one denomination and the schools provided for all the denominations mainly represented in the area, and that no territory should necessarily rely wholly on uni-denominational schools but should consult parents through the local education authorities as to the kind of school parents desire in each instance.

5. THE AIM OF EDUCATION

38. It is generally agreed that education must seek to draw out all that is best in every man and woman, and that education has the threefold duty of preparing men and women to be good workers, to be good citizens, and to develop the spiritual insight with which God has blessed them. What is sometimes forgotten is that in order to carry out its duty in these respects education must have relation to the environment in which a person has to spend his life. Not only in Africa but in every country in the world, the great majority of boys and girls must of necessity return from school to the environment whence they came. The minority which in Africa will move away from a purely agricultural environment to the growing centres of administration and commerce are a most important minority, for

it is these who, as they come to occupy increasingly important posts in education, the civil service, and economic development, can make the new towns of Africa spearheads in the advance of civilization. But the towns will only be able to play this role in a developing African society if this minority is always strongly aware of the predominantly agricultural character of the territories which they serve. It is equally important also that another stream of educated men and women should use their education wholly in the service of the rural communities and the improvement of agriculture. In spite of the new growth of industry Africans still depend on agriculture for their livelihood, and for the increased food-supply needed by their rapidly increasing populations. They depend on agriculture

also for nearly all of the exports with which they finance their present standard of living and by which they hope to raise that standard. Unless productivity is increased some of these populations are in danger of famine in the near future, and even now some of them pass annually through what they call the hunger months, when starvation is very near. Rural societies can be developed, based on sound economy and at the same time providing social amenities and outlets for a wide variety of interests, aptitudes, and occupations. A major aim of education in these territories can therefore be considered primarily in relation to an agricultural environment in which men and women can work, can be good citizens and can develop their talents, and it is by its success or failure in such an environment that education will be judged. At the same time, it must be remembered that the aim of education is to enable every man and woman to lead the most complete life that is rendered possible by his environment. The acceptance of this principle means that education in administration and in technology must keep pace everywhere with the opportunities that are developing in those respects.

39. In several areas the Africans are still proving slow to realize the benefits of education, as witness the small number of schools required in such areas to meet the demand, and the heavy wastage of children during the courses. Over the greater part of these territories, however, we have no doubt that there is a sincere and earnest demand among the Africans for the benefits of education. Sometimes this demand is almost passionate in its nature and there is intense grief and disappointment when a child fails to gain admission to a school or has to leave. Often parents make great sacrifices to send their children to school and often communities spontaneously offer to tax themselves in order to pay for the education of their people and voluntarily give money or labour to put up class-rooms. Some African local authorities have become almost bankrupt owing to the extent to which they have drawn on their resources to pay for local schools.

40. All this evidence of the intense desire for education among the majority of Africans in these territories arises from a number of reasons. We have no doubt that a vast number of Africans now generally want a greatly improved way of living, materially, culturally, and spiritually. Such feelings promote an intense desire for education but a desire which may lead them astray unless it is well advised. Sometimes a community wants a school for reasons of prestige, for there is a wish to put the school in the most prominent place and there is great pride in its existence. Rightly guided, such a desire can become a very healthy thing. We have been driven to the conclusion, however, that some at least of the reasons why education is desired are not so healthy. We have asked a large number of African boys on the point of leaving school what work they intend to seek. Of those leaving secondary schools the large majority want to be civil servants or to enter teaching and the professions. There is at present a very great and an unsatisfied need for more and better educated civil servants, teachers, and doctors. The proposals we develop later for the large expansion of secondary education imply that this stream of recruitment from the secondary schools should be increased and not diminished. But from this expanded system of secondary schools we should like to see a large and important group of leavers who choose agriculture

and the improvement of the rural environment as their career. We have been assured by experts that although life on the land in Africa is often very hard, productivity could be greatly increased almost everywhere if old prejudices and customs were overcome, and new methods introduced by trained intelligence and knowledge. In some regions where rainfall is abundant, and where the soil is fertile, agriculture already offers rich rewards to those who are prepared to adopt modern scientific methods and co-operate with each other, but in many places, even in these fertile regions, Africans are still content with a bare subsistence level because education has not yet been able to overcome habits and wasteful or ineffective methods.

41. It is not within our ability or scope to predict the likely course of economic development in Africa during the next twenty-five years. New minerals and new sources of power will be discovered which will in time give a great impetus to industrial and urban development, and education must be related to this possibility. These are matters of future development and in the meantime there is no doubt at all that the land and industries based on the land will be the condition of survival as well as the major source of wealth of most territories. It is this consideration that calls for a new, large, and important stream of educated Africans to concern themselves with agriculture and rural development.

42. The drift to the towns in Africa is not wholly dissimilar to the movement which took place in England in the nineteenth century, and education with us was powerless to prevent it. But from our experience we should have learnt some lessons which we should be able to pass on to Africa so that our own mistakes are not reproduced there and so that what is done in African schools can mitigate to some degree the powerful social and economic forces which in the intensity of their impact are in danger of disrupting African life. Already, in all the territories, enlightened teachers and administrators are alive to the dangers of a theoretical and bookish education. In Nyasaland the departments of education and health have co-operated to prepare an admirable new syllabus in hygiene that is wholly practical in character. In Northern Rhodesia the new primary school syllabus represents an immense step forward. In Tanganyika the curriculum of the new middle schools will be a quite fresh and practical approach to the linking of education and agriculture. In Uganda a committee has just been set up to examine, amongst others, this very problem. In Kenya in the Suk district, a most creative approach to the work of the primary schools is having an effect on the agricultural advance of a wide area. This movement is all in the right direction and is gathering strength. In succeeding chapters we shall try to add our own suggestions in the hope that we may pass on to one territory the experience of others and so strengthen the hands of all of those, and they are many, who see the dangers of what is fast becoming an old-fashioned type of education, and are anxious only to find the best ways of improving it.

43. All the directors of education and their staffs whom we met were fully aware of the state of affairs we have described, and were keenly anxious to find a way out of the dilemma in which they are placed by the great contrast between the desire of most Africans on the one hand to escape from their environment, and the physical im-

possibility that the majority of them can do so. Repeated efforts have been made by many able and hard-working education officers to lead Africans in the direction which can raise their standard of living and sometimes enable them to enjoy a fuller life, and these efforts have certainly deserved a better fate than that which they have met with. We have naturally been greatly concerned to try to find helpful suggestions, and to assist in removing some of the obstacles, for clearly intermediate and secondary education cannot usefully be expanded in these African territories unless it can be made of service to the people. It is of no use to provide more higher education only to provide more clerks. We think that here, as in so many instances, it is in the teachers' training colleges that the ultimate remedy must be found. We go into this matter much more

fully in subsequent chapters, but here we think it appropriate to point out that the new teachers must be trained to assist their European colleagues in eliminating from the schools the present examination-ridden system and the highly theoretical teaching, which have been produced by the intense desire of Africans for certificates leading to clerical employment. The aim of education must be to prepare Africans to live well in their own country, and the system of education must not represent a pale reflection of that given in England, where conditions are altogether different, and where the native culture of the people is altogether different. What we seek in effect is a more liberal education for Africans based on their own African environment and on their own way of life.

6. THE NEED FOR EDUCATION

THE MORAL CRISIS

44. After at the most eighty years, Africans from East and Central Africa are being expected to move from their own social and cultural patterns of living into a version of them that accepts, absorbs, and modifies the influences of Western civilization. Nor is all this happening to all peoples at the same time. There is great variety of pace and place. This adaptation ranges from the material world of bicycles, petrol engines, aeroplanes, sewing-machines, canned food, and wireless to the world of thought that covers the Christian way of life, communism, internationalism, and democratic institutions. The remarkable adaptability of the average African makes us forget how shallow is likely to be his experience and how superficial his understanding of the new world, grasped imperfectly through the medium of a foreign tongue.

45. Anthropological surveys of many tribes and regions are available but not yet sufficiently consulted. Here are records of closely knit, highly organized societies, where the individual in most cases subordinates himself to the group—his family, his clan, or his age-group. The individualist is more often the rebel than the leader. Codes of conduct, different from our own, but rigid and often more faithfully followed, bind man from the cradle to the grave. Few everyday incidents are without significance; eating, drinking, sleeping, being born, getting married, and dying; planting and harvesting; hunting and stock-raising; quarrelling and fighting are all subjects for detailed regulation. Inevitably the coming of a more advanced civilization upsets this pattern and the removal of one set of sanctions is not met with the offer and acceptance of another as detailed and all-embracing in scope. The tribal moral code had very often a high community value, but civilization with its encouragement to movement of peoples, fresh associations, and new ideas, is rapidly breaking up the tribal structure of the African, and where the collapse of that structure is unaccompanied by education, Africans are in danger of becoming an amoral people. If we are asked to give explicit evidence of the moral crisis that results from this state of affairs we can only instance certain surface manifestations, but we are quite sure that there is much more under the surface. Nobody can live for any

length of time in this part of Africa without becoming aware that deep feelings are moving the peoples. Africa is certainly on the march, and many people are asking whither. As to the surface manifestations of demoralization, we may instance the great prevalence of house-breaking, robbery from the person and petty larceny of all kinds, particularly in urban areas, and the existence of large numbers of young men who have no employment and do not want any. In the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia there are even numbers of children who have become detached from their tribes and their parents, and are wandering about without control and 'without visible means of subsistence'. A tour of a town late at night often reveals dozens of African young men sleeping in the streets, in doorways, behind packing-cases, and in backyards. Certain streets of large towns are freely stated to be unsafe for decent people after dark, and the police court proceedings show that this is so.

46. There are only two ways of dealing with a situation like this, the constructive and the punitive. The punitive side is not our responsibility but on the constructive side we have to admit that there is a lot of evidence to show that in many places demoralization is out-pacing education, and we feel that it is our duty to make any recommendations which our experience and knowledge can indicate in order to counteract this danger.

47. In the first place we reiterate an opinion which we have already expressed, and which we hold very strongly, namely that any moral code worthy of the name must rest on the spiritual guidance that comes from deep and sincere religious belief. As Christians we naturally look to Christianity for our guidance, but we appreciate that the Muslim religion provides such guidance to many good men and women whose lives are examples to others. In the matter of religious belief we think that where Governments in East and Central Africa have hitherto taken up a position of neutrality in relation to religion this attitude should no longer continue. A public statement on a belief in the necessity for a spiritual basis to education in its widest sense would give encouragement and strength to those already at work and provide the inspiration for future development.

48. Most of the schools in East and Central Africa, excepting Zanzibar and Somaliland, are provided and governed by the Christian missions. A minority of these schools are provided by the Government or local African authorities and are governed by district commissioners or by committees of Africans appointed by the providing body. A smaller number still are provided and governed by independent associations or by private persons. There is a serious danger in this connexion that the fatal dichotomy may arise which has split asunder English education since the year 1870. In giving evidence to us, representatives of African bodies have quite often referred to 'their' schools and 'our' schools as defining the difference between the mission schools and the schools provided by African local authorities. Missionaries have complained to us that Native Authorities, while ready to vote large sums of money to their own schools, are quite prepared to see mission schools go short. The danger is evident that the State schools may become purely secular and that the Church schools may be financially starved. The remedy we suggest is that eventually all schools should become local authority schools while all schools should remain religious schools. We suggest a division between uni-denominational schools and multi-denominational schools, the former being provided by one Church and the latter on behalf of all the Churches substantially represented in the locality concerned. As an immediate step towards the realization of this ideal, we suggest that every mission or Church school should have an advisory committee including representatives of the African local authority, and that every Native Authority or district council school should co-opt on its governing body representatives of the Churches or missions working in the area served by the school. We also strongly suggest that every school provided by the Government or a Native Authority should provide denominational religious education for all children whose parents desire such education in sufficient numbers to render it possible. This suggestion involves accordance of the right of entry to the clergy and the appointment on the teaching staff of teachers trained to give religious education in accordance with the wishes of substantial bodies of parents. In Northern Rhodesia generally and in other territories to a less extent, the arrangements we now advocate are already in being and are working smoothly as regards the giving of denominational religious education in Native Authority schools. As a further and later step we foresee every school, or in the case of primary schools, every group of schools, having in course of time an executive governing body. In uni-denominational schools we think that the Church or mission providing the school should have a majority on the governing body, while in multi-denominational schools we would give, for the time being, the Native Authority a majority on the governing body, with all the Churches represented in the area forming a minority of the governing body. Ultimately, as the Africanization and democratization of the Churches proceed, we should hope that in both uni-denominational and multi-denominational schools the Church and State, the latter represented by the local authority, would agree to move further towards equal representation on the governing bodies of all schools. By the time that situation is reached missionaries will have given place to native Churches and both Church and local authority will be

largely represented by Africans. In this way and by these steps we hope that the active participation of Christian men and women in the governing of all schools will be assured and their influence felt through the whole of the school life and through the whole of the educational system, while at the same time the elected representatives of the African people will be equally associated with school government. But these changes must come by degrees. In all stages it is essential that there should be no religious bar to admission in any grant-aided school, and that any parent should be free to withdraw his child from religious instruction if he wishes to do so.

49. In connexion with our deep-rooted belief that religion must be the basis of education, we have considered the importance of the school chapel or place of worship. Governments have in the past been very reluctant to contribute financially towards the building of chapels which form part of schools managed from public funds, and Governors and Governments have urged that an assembly hall or class-room can be used temporarily as a chapel. We disagree with this assumption, believing as we do that the influence of a place of worship built and used only for that purpose will be profound, as experience in British schools has already shown.

50. The next step which we desire to propose in the inculcation of a new moral code is the substitution of active for passive morality in all places of education by the strengthening of community life. In a school where community life is strong, moral habits grow strong until they become part of the personality. Anything that weakens community life in the schools is therefore to be deplored. In some territories, in the interest of good examination results at the secondary school stage, the best intellectual pupils of one school are 'creamed off' to another where conditions are thought to favour intellectual advancement. This process weakens the community life of both schools. It deprives one school of potential leaders in its community and it brings them into another school community in which they have not had time to develop good roots. Intellectual advancement, as evinced by good examination results, achieved at the expense of sound moral and cultural growth, will not suffice.

51. The development of the whole personality is of particular importance in training colleges for teachers. It is essential that those appointed to the staff of such colleges should practise their religion with conviction so that students in training throughout the whole of their course can be influenced by example as well as by precept. The influence of one personality on another in any direction can be profound, and there is no more favourable ground for influence than a teachers' training college with its relatively small number of students and its high proportion of staff who live in close touch with them. As in the schools, the factors which contribute to produce a strong community life should be given priority over every other consideration.

52. Most of us can recall the way in which in our early years we first became admirers of other people, and most of us would say that this experience first occurred to us when hearing stories of the lives of great men and women of whom we made heroes. We suggest, therefore, that part of the curriculum of every school, whether that part is called history or anything else, should consist of a study of

the lives of those great men and women who have profoundly influenced humanity for good. All the personal details known about such people should be described in order that their lives may be made real to the pupil. Deep admiration is often one of the immediate forerunners of imitation, and we suggest that every advantage should be taken of the truth of this statement.

53. The teaching of civics may be used as an aid to the teaching of a moral code. It should not be treated as just one more branch of knowledge. In the hands of a skilful teacher we have seen how it may have great moral value. The counterpart of this in the training college will be the inclusion in the course of a period of practical social service to a particular locality as an inherent part of the training, and this proposal is dealt with in more detail in a later chapter.

54. The ideal school, if it were acceptable to parents, would be an interracial school. There are no insurmountable practical difficulties in the way of interracial education at any stage, but there are many difficulties in men's minds. Initiatives in this direction must therefore be the pioneer efforts of individuals who feel a call to experiment in this field. Excellent experiments are already envisaged in, for example, the Technical College at Nairobi, and because the task of government is eased as racial tensions are eased, such initiatives should receive moral and financial aid from the Government.

55. We suggest therefore:

- (a) That Governments should plainly declare their moral and material support for deep and sincere religious belief as the basis of all education.
- (b) That eventually all grant-aided schools should become at the same time State schools and religious schools, with governing bodies representative of the African local authorities and the African Church or Churches, and that as an immediate step in that direction, every Government or Native Authority school should have a governing body on which missions working in the locality should be represented, while every mission school or group of schools should have an advisory committee on which the African local authority should be represented, this advisory committee to become a governing body in course of time.
- (c) That all boarding schools and at any rate some of the large day schools should have their own places of worship.
- (d) That in teachers' training colleges and in schools a moral code should be inculcated by the active formation of good habits and the development of a strong community life. Actions which weaken community life, such as the removal, on intellectual grounds, of a pupil in the middle of his course, from one school community to another, should cease.
- (e) That the staffs of teachers' training colleges should be selected as examples of what their students ought to become, and that morality should be presented to students as a matter of principle and also of service to the community.
- (f) That the lives of great and good men and women should be vividly taught in all schools in order to personify moral qualities.

- (g) That the teaching of citizenship should continue in all places of education in ways suited to the age of pupils with the aim always of strengthening the moral basis of society.
- (h) That moral and practical support should be given to pioneer experiments in the field of interracial education.
- (i) That the fostering of initiative and responsibility in schools and training colleges should receive great attention in the planning of their programmes of work.

THE MATERIAL CRISIS

56. Having been made aware both by those on the spot and by our own observations that a moral crisis of the first magnitude now faces the Governments and peoples of East and Central Africa, and having indicated the educational measures which might help to meet that crisis, we turn now to a material crisis, also of the first magnitude, which must be faced in the near future.

The crisis we are now considering arises from the cumulative effect of the following circumstances:

- (a) These parts of Africa, as we have already said, depend for the existence of their peoples almost entirely on agriculture, which must supply the food and pay for the imports on which the peoples depend.
- (b) Agriculture is at present conducted for the most part by primitive and wasteful methods which fail by the widest margin to make the best use of the land and labour available, which produce much less than is reasonably possible, and which in many places are rapidly exhausting or losing the soil of the country. We describe this state of affairs much more fully in our chapter on agricultural education.
- (c) With the exception of certain areas, the African population of these territories is on the whole increasing very rapidly at a rate which it is calculated will double the present population in about thirty years. This will necessitate at least double the production of food and other agricultural products if the present standards of living are to be maintained, and it is agreed that the present standards are not nearly high enough and must be raised as rapidly as possible.
- (d) Educated Africans are not in large numbers turning to agriculture for a livelihood.

57. We deal more fully with the problems of agricultural education in our chapter on that subject, but in this chapter we mention some of the steps which we believe must be taken if education is to play its part in this great economic and social problem.

58. At the outset there is a need to consider a new stream of recruitment to the educational service in Africa. For the most part, up till now, these men and women have been required to possess university degrees, which means that they have come from and have taught almost entirely in grammar schools. Many of them have been more familiar with town than country life and their own education has had its emphasis more on academic than on practical work. They have taken this limited experience into

training colleges in Africa preparing teachers for primary schools mostly in rural areas. Many have realized what is required of them in their new environment and have worked out their teaching methods in relation to it with great success. Others, however, have not attuned themselves in this way and perhaps have been neither challenged nor encouraged to do so. Recruitment is not easy and a growing awareness of these necessary changes has led to an as yet unsatisfied demand for European staff with a countryman's attitude to life and with experience of teaching in relation to rural life and of making use of a rural background in the process of education.

59. Realizing the need for education in most parts of Africa to be related to a rural environment, the authorities have from time to time prescribed a proportion of practical work to be done in all schools, and the schools have done their best to comply with the instructions thus given, in spite of the opposition of some of the African staff and pupils. In some schools excellent practical work is being done. In others practical work has, however, often been added to the time-table as an excrescence on it, and has become in consequence mere drudgery. In one school we found that agricultural work had been classified with school football as a spare-time occupation, and in others clearing up the school premises had been counted in the proportion of practical work demanded by the authorities. We have seen children marched to a store and told to draw hoes from it, and then go and dig the ground rather aimlessly while the teacher kept one eye on the clock and everybody obviously hoped for the end of the lesson. Such well-meant attempts on the part of the authorities to turn the energies and interests of the schools towards practical work merely defeat their own object. Agricultural and other practical work, if it is to succeed, must be a living part of the school curriculum, and must be closely interwoven with the other school subjects. For example, the three outstanding lessons of contour ridging, rotation, and manuring must be driven home by demonstration in the primary schools, while in the intermediate schools and in the secondary schools the methods we recommend in later chapters are those we propose to ensure that education makes its proper contribution to the solution of our problem. They may be summarized as the building of the whole school life around agriculture in the middle school and the teaching of agricultural science as an examination subject in all secondary schools, closely related to the rest of the curriculum. At the same time, we emphasize elsewhere in this report the importance we attach to the development of technological education to keep pace with industrial expansion and to enable Africans to make their maximum contribution as skilled workers in accordance with the opportunities available in each area.

60. As in most of our recommendations, the teachers' training colleges must make a major contribution. At present many schools have an agricultural specialist on their staff, but he is sometimes the only teacher with any real knowledge of agriculture or any real interest in it. This, we think, is entirely wrong because agricultural education must be a co-operative process on the part of all the members of the school staff, and one teacher working in isolation can make comparatively little advance. It will be an advantage if every teacher is trained to understand agricultural education, though an agricultural specialist

with particular knowledge of this subject will still be very desirable in most schools.

61. Agricultural specialists should be trained teachers who have successfully taken a further year's training in an agricultural school, and they should receive two annual increments in salary in respect of this training, one increment being to compensate for a year's loss of teaching, and the other for the additional qualification.

62. We have already remarked that the undesirable aspects of urban life make a superficial appeal to people of limited education, not only in Africa but in European countries as well, and this is particularly apparent in respect of young people. We suggest, therefore, that generally training colleges and boarding schools in East and Central Africa should be situated so that a real love of the country-side can be linked with a proper understanding of the relationship of town and country life.

63. And lastly, in this connexion, we wish to emphasize the fact that, as education is inseparable from life as a whole, so the education department must not attempt to function alone, but must recognize its inseparability from the work of other departments. In some territories, provincial and district teams of officers, working in the team-spirit implied by their titles, have produced a real integration of the work of the Government with the life of the people.

64. We suggest therefore:

- (a) That while scholarship is of first-rate importance, an increased number of Europeans should be recruited for the African education service primarily with a view to their ability to inspire in their pupils a deep and abiding affection for rural life and the things of the country-side.
- (b) The whole of the curriculum should be integrated with the agricultural and other practical work in it.
- (c) That all the practical work in schools should have a real meaning to the pupils, and should never be allowed to become mechanical drudgery.
- (d) That while certain teachers should specialize in agriculture in their training and subsequent teaching, agriculture should be an integral part of the training of every teacher and should be included in the assessment at the end of his training.
- (e) That the dependence of Africa on agriculture, particularly in relation to the rapidly increasing population, should be emphasized in every teachers' training college and in every school.
- (f) That teachers' training colleges generally should be established in rural surroundings.
- (g) That there should be the closest co-operation between the departments of education and agriculture at all levels.

65. In the foregoing pages we have put forward our view that the impact of Western civilization on a young people is in danger of producing a demoralization which is beginning to outrun education, and we have shown that the increase of population is outrunning the productivity of the country. The best possible way to save the situation is through more and better education, and there is an obvious need for an effort in this direction much greater than any territory is now making. No territory has more

than a minority of its children in school, and we shall give figures showing that in most territories that minority is alarmingly small. At the same time we wish to emphasize in this chapter, as elsewhere, that we are not advocating an education designed to produce labourers. On the contrary,

we envisage an education for Africans designed to enable them to understand their environment and lead the most complete life that is possible in it; that is to say, a really liberal education.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATION NO. 8

We recommend:

- (a) That Governments should plainly declare their moral and material support for deep and sincere religious belief as the basis of all education.
- (b) That all boarding schools and, at any rate, some large day schools should have their own places of worship.
- (c) That in teachers' training colleges and in schools a moral code should be inculcated by the active formation of good habits and the development of a strong community life. Actions which weaken community life, such as the removal, on intellectual grounds, of a pupil in the middle of his course, from one school community to another, should cease.
- (d) That the staffs of teachers' training colleges should be selected as examples of what their students ought to become, and that morality should be presented to students as a matter of principle and also of service to the community.
- (e) That the lives of great and good men and women should be vividly taught in all schools in order to personify moral qualities.
- (f) That the teaching of citizenship should continue in all places of education in ways suited to the age of pupils with the aim always of strengthening the moral basis of society.
- (g) That moral and practical support should be given to pioneer experiments in the field of interracial education.
- (h) That the fostering of initiative and responsibility in schools and training colleges should receive great attention in the planning of their programmes of work.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 9

We recommend:

- (a) That while scholarship is of first-rate importance, an increased number of Europeans should be recruited for the African education service primarily with a view to their ability to inspire in their pupils a deep and abiding affection for rural life and the things of the country-side.
- (b) That the school curricula should be integrated as far as possible with the agricultural and other practical work in them.
- (c) That all the practical work in schools should have a

real meaning to the pupils, and should never be allowed to become mechanical drudgery.

- (d) That in the middle school, agriculture should form the starting-point of a group of studies in which practical and theoretical work are closely integrated and in the large majority of middle schools this group should form the central core of the whole curriculum, and that in the secondary school the importance should be emphasized of the school farm, and of a course in agriculture up to School Certificate standard.
- (e) That secondary schools should consider some well-managed agricultural work linked intelligently to some part of the academic work of the school in order that the future leaders of African life should be aware of the paramount importance of agriculture and of the dignity of manual tasks.
- (f) That while certain teachers should specialize in agriculture in their training and subsequent teaching, agriculture should be an integral part of the training of every teacher and should be included in the assessment at the end of his training.
- (g) That the dependence of Africa on agriculture, particularly in relation to the rapidly increasing population, should be emphasized in every teachers' training college and in every school.
- (h) That teachers' training colleges generally should be established in surroundings where an appreciation of the country-side can be linked with a proper understanding of the relationship between town and country.
- (i) That there should be the closest co-operation between the department of education and the administration and other specialist departments at all levels.
- (j) That the attack on agricultural ignorance should be made simultaneously by the schools and the agencies of adult education. To rely on the schools alone would be to under-estimate the force of adult conservatism; to educate adults in agricultural knowledge and to produce a young educated *élite* divorced from the land would be equally fatal.
- (k) That technological education must be developed to keep pace with industrial expansion and to enable Africans to make their maximum contribution as skilled workers in accordance with the opportunities available in each area.

PART II

INITIAL PROBLEMS

7. THE ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

66. For many years the African schools, like those in Europe, have been classified as primary or secondary, but recently two territories have decided to introduce a third class of schools to be known as middle schools in Tanganyika, and intermediate schools in Kenya. When schools were divided into primary and secondary grades it was usual for the primary course nominally to last six years and for the secondary course, also nominally, to last six years, though, as will appear later, the great majority of the children who enter both courses failed to complete the full period. Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have a classification of schools of their own, but Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda and also Zanzibar have classified their schools on the basis already described, namely, six years primary and six years secondary. The organization to which Kenya and Tanganyika are now engaged in transferring, on the other hand, consists of a four years' primary course, followed by four years in the intermediate or middle school, followed again by four years in the secondary school. The controversy is not concerned with the total length of school life but with its organization into cycles of study. On one view there should be two breaks after periods of four years; on the other, one break half-way through the course.

67. It must be admitted at once that African opinion on the whole is strongly against what at the first glance seemed like a reduction of the primary course from six years to four, regarding this as a retrograde step, and aimed at decreasing the amount of education which Africans will receive. Some of the missions take the same view, that six years are better than four. If the matter were as simple as that we should agree with the objections to the change now being made in the two territories, but the issue is not so simple. Another simplification and a truer one would be to say that the aim is to increase the primary course from six to eight years. The aim certainly is to increase at once the number of children entering upon their fifth and sixth years of school life and to aim at a universal education of eight years as soon as possible. But for reasons which we set out below and because all territories have failed as yet to provide four years of education for the majority of their children, there should be an immediate drive to secure this objective and this should be regarded as an immediate target, but only as an immediate target.

68. In our chapter on Wastage we shall deal with the extent to which, and the reasons why, children fail to complete the primary course, but here we content ourselves with the bald statement that in both Kenya and Tanganyika the majority of the children have not stayed for four years, let alone six. In fact the proportion who have continued for a fifth and sixth year in the primary course in these two territories and also in Uganda has been quite small, as subsequent figures will show. Moreover, at the beginning of the fifth year of the primary course in all three territories—

Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda—fresh subjects have been introduced and subjects already studied have been treated differently for the most part. In other words, the six years' primary course has not been a coherent whole; it has been a course of four years, followed by a different course of two years for a minority of the children. The primary course has been limited to four years or even less by the Africans themselves and the supply of teachers and buildings has been adjusted accordingly. It is true that in most instances an examination has been held at the end of the fourth year to decide which of the children who wanted to continue were fit to do so, but the number excluded by this examination has been small in comparison with the number of pupils who excluded themselves, many of them no doubt quite fitted to continue their education if they could only have been persuaded to do so or their parents to let them. Governments were faced then really with the alternative between a four years' course followed by a two years' course, both called primary, or a four years' primary course followed by four years called middle or intermediate, and this is the choice on which we wish to express an opinion.

69. We have asked some hundreds of witnesses, formally and informally, what can be done under present conditions in a four years' basic course. The great majority agree that literacy can be given to the average pupil in four years to such an extent that he is likely to retain it, given reasonable opportunities of exercising his ability to read and write after he leaves school. The basic skills and the tools of learning, as well as general adaptability, can be communicated to the average African pupil under present conditions in four years, but not in a shorter period than that, if we accept the views of the majority of our witnesses. No doubt that is the main reason why the basic course of six years has naturally fallen in the past into a four years' course followed by a two years' course. There is real point, therefore, in fixing the basic course at four years for that reason. Moreover, it has so far proved impossible to get the majority of African children to stay at school for even four years, let alone six, and if the concerted attack on wastage which we recommend subsequently is to have a real chance of success within a reasonable period, it seems essential to limit the objective in the first place to the period which will produce literacy and to ensure that the great majority, and not as at present the minority of those who begin school, stay long enough to become literate. That is another argument for fixing the basic course at four years. Finally, there is the point that not one of the territories we have visited has yet succeeded in getting as many as 50 per cent. of its children through a four-year course and in some territories the proportion is much lower. If this proportion is to be substantially raised in the near future, as we strongly recommend, again it is necessary in the first place to take a limited objective, and we suggest that this objective

should be a primary course of four years for all children to be provided as soon as possible, followed, of course, by further education for the greatest proportion that can be paid for and induced to stay, with the hope that before long all children will be in school for eight years at least.

70. For all these reasons we come down therefore in favour of a four years' primary course followed by a four years' middle or intermediate course, as against the nominal six years' primary course followed by a six years' secondary course which Kenya and Tanganyika have had in the past and with which Uganda is still persevering.

71. It is necessary now to examine the length of the course which follows that in the primary school, namely, four years. Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have short courses of two or three years after the primary course. Uganda has in effect a two years' course following the primary course, though that two years is called part of the primary school. We have come to the conclusion that these short courses following the primary course are not the best arrangement, and it seems to us from our inquiries and researches in the field that nothing less than a four years' course after the primary course will give an adequate return, because otherwise the new subjects started are not studied long enough to produce lasting benefit. There is the further complication that the schools following the primary course usually contain pupils gathered from a considerable number of primary schools, often into a boarding school for the first time in their lives. The children take some time to settle down in their new surroundings and the teachers usually take even longer to arrive at a common denominator for the varying methods of teaching and varying attainments of their pupils from the different contributory schools. To give one example which merely illustrates and by no means exhausts the arguments, it is common in the three East African territories to begin English in the fifth year of school life. Under present conditions, with some teachers of limited skill, it is usually impossible to produce any lasting effect by teaching English for two years only, and we have no hesitation in favouring a four years' course in a middle school or intermediate school rather than two years in an upper primary school followed by another two years in a junior secondary school for a minority further selected which is usually the alternative. As we have already stated, African opinion is generally afraid that there will be less education as a result of the change we favour. Governments can, and we were assured that they will, completely answer this charge by ensuring that in the first place as many children enter the middle school as previously entered the fifth year of the primary school and by taking as their target a greatly increased number of children entering the middle school. If Governments take this line we are confident that the fears of Africans will be allayed, for there will be a large number of children in middle schools for four years instead of a comparatively small number in the two upper classes of primary schools, followed by a much smaller number still in the junior secondary school.

72. Mention of junior secondary schools brings us to the organization of secondary education which has hitherto proceeded on different lines in different territories. Nyasaland in its two secondary schools, with a six years' course, has had a division of each school into three parts each of two years' length, with comparatively few children staying the full course; and the same may be said of the more

numerous schools in Northern Rhodesia. Kenya and Tanganyika have a similar division, but have had in the past a number of separate junior secondary schools nominally with a two years' course only, though usually they have had at least one feeding class attached. Uganda divides its secondary course of six years into two parts each of three years. If the four years' primary course followed by the four years' middle school course is accepted, another four years in a secondary school should enable pupils to reach the School Certificate standard, and that we suggest should be the aim in all secondary schools. For the time being, however, it may often be necessary to make provision for some children to leave half-way through the four years' course with a lower grade of certificate, simply because at the moment there are not enough teachers to take all the children up to School Certificate standard and because at present Standard X is accepted by many employers, and for this reason African parents tend to withdraw their children half-way through the secondary course.

73. We suggest, therefore, that each territory should as quickly as possible alter its school organization to provide a four years' primary course followed by a four years' intermediate or middle course followed by a four years' secondary course, the last course leading to the School Certificate, and we suggest also that at the earliest possible time the present shorter courses, which we consider wasteful, should be merged in the four-year courses.

74. Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika, although a majority of their schools are provided by missions, have a fair proportion of schools provided by the Government or by Native Authorities, while in some territories almost all the schools are provided by missions and there is no apparent intention to alter that state of affairs. We have already said that some African opinion is becoming impatient of conditions which apply in certain mission schools, and if the suggestions that we have already made are tried they should help to remove this feeling of impatience on the part of Africans, while at the same time allowing the missions to continue their good work. We must now, however, discuss the question whether there should be a proportion of multi-denominational schools or whether it is best to rely almost entirely on uni-denominational schools. One of the difficulties in the latter system lies in the dangers of monopoly particularly where, as in some territories attempts have been made to allot quite a big area of country to one mission entirely. Under such conditions, Africans have told us that a parent may only be able to get his child into school if he is on good terms with the local missionary, and whether that is true or not, it is widely believed by Africans. In areas where one mission has a monopoly of the schools we sometimes found evidence of a tendency for that mission to introduce conditions into school entry, some of which seemed to us quite wrong. We found instances where special fees had been levied on parents as a condition of school entry which were evidently not being spent on the education of the children in the school but on general Church purposes, and we found evidence of religious tests as a condition of school entry. Missionaries have in the past largely made their agreements about schools with European officials; in future, and more and more as time goes on, they will have to make those agreements with African local bodies, and clearly they must be careful to lay down conditions which are generally

acceptable to Africans on grounds of equity and not only on grounds of sectarian practice. Inevitably in human affairs, and in every country, abuses are liable to creep in wherever there is a monopoly, and it seems to us that the best arrangement for school organization is obtained where there is a balance between uni-denominational and multi-denominational schools. We agree that a good uni-denominational school starts with a great advantage, in that it has as part of its being a united religious community fostering a corporate spirit. But where there are diversities of religions and sects and where the principle of freedom in religion is accepted by African and European alike, we question the wisdom of perpetuating regional monopolies. We suggest as an alternative that while there should be a considerable proportion of uni-denominational schools, there should also be a balance between that type of school and the school which is inter-denominational. We have dealt with the constitution of these two classes of schools in a previous chapter. We think that the best way of ensuring the balance we advocate is to arrange that when a new school is to be built or added to the grant list to serve the approved needs of an area, a canvass should be made of the wishes of parents by the local education authority. As we have already suggested, that authority, at first nominated and advisory, should become progressively executive and elected as Africans gain the necessary experience and ability in self-government. The local authority having ascertained the wishes of parents would decide or would recommend that the new school should be either a multi-denominational or a uni-denominational school. In either case there should be, as we have already pleaded, ample provision for the withdrawal of children from religious instruction where their parents so desire, and there should be no sectarian tests for admission to any school.

75. In making these suggestions we wish to stress the fact that in our experience the great majority of mission schools in all territories are conducted with fairness to other denominations and to the African population generally. But our view is that the minority that are not so conducted, and the possibility of abuses under monopoly, tend

to prejudice the position of the missions in the educational system in the minds of many Africans. We believe that the balanced system which we suggest will do much to remove that prejudice and maintain the connexion between Church and school which we value so much.

76. No chapter on school organization would be complete without mention of private schools, a term which is used in these parts of Africa to mean schools which are not provided by Government, local authorities, or religious bodies. There are not many of these except in Kenya and Uganda where African local authorities are few in number. Some of these private schools are conducted for private profit, but others are maintained by non-profit-making associations. Some of the latter are grant-aided by Government, and some of them which we saw compared favourably with the mission schools as regards the quality of their teaching and general amenities. But we also saw some private schools which were bad in every respect and served only to emphasize the need for control. Sometimes a private school appears only to survive on account of its claim to teach English where other primary schools do not. We suggest, therefore, that legislation should be introduced to control the opening of private schools and to ensure their efficiency, but that efficient private schools should be encouraged by Government.

77. Lastly, in this chapter we desire once more to emphasize our strong opinion that any system of school organization must bring the schools into close relation with the whole life of the community. Government and local education authorities should encourage and help parents and teachers to work together on a basis of mutual understanding, whether that co-operation takes the form of parents' associations or more informal methods. Education departments and other Government departments, local education authorities and other local authorities must work closely together and must not slip into watertight compartments. As education is a part of life, so the schools must be part of the community which they serve, and nobody must be allowed to use them as a kingdom of his own or isolate them from the life of the people.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 7

RECOMMENDATION NO. 10

We recommend that each territory should as quickly as possible alter its school organization to provide a four years' primary course, followed by a four years' intermediate or middle course, followed by a four years' secondary course, the last course leading to the School Certificate, and we recommend that at the earliest moment the present shorter

courses which we consider wasteful should be merged in the four-year courses which we recommend.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 11

We recommend that legislation should be introduced to control the opening of private schools and to ensure their efficiency, but that efficient private schools should be encouraged by Government.

8. THE EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

78. There is everywhere in Africa and among every section of the population a desire to see a rapid expansion of the educational system. Africans are often ready to go without material advantages if their children can be educated; those concerned with economic development in every department want a rapidly increasing number of educated men and women for their work so that territorial

wealth will increase and standards of living can be raised; and all those engaged in the social and welfare services need many recruits to aid and advance their work.

79. Every territory has a general development plan, which includes an educational development plan covering five or ten years. It would be impossible to praise too highly the energy and forethought which has gone into

the production of these development plans. The stimulus they have given to energetic advance is very great and is clearly visible in the school buildings which are springing up and also in the rising numbers in every type of school which too often press very heavily on the existing teaching staff. If all of this work is to bear good fruit, and if the pace of advance is not to be exceeded by the pace of events, it seems to us that the time is now ripe for a reconsideration of these plans, having in mind the following questions:

- (i) In what precise terms should educational advance be measured?
- (ii) Since resources are limited, where can money and personnel be withdrawn so as to be redirected at more fruitful points on the educational 'front of advance'?
- (iii) What parts of the educational system must be advanced first in order to produce teachers to staff other parts; or, in other words, what are the priorities of advance which will best overcome the great bottleneck in all advance, i.e. lack of teachers?
- (iv) Is it possible to define, within a broad development plan for the next twenty-five years, certain 'phases' of advance, each with its own limited target?

80. Before these questions are considered in detail it will be as well to define the final goal of advance which it seems to us might be achieved in the next twenty-five years, a period long enough for capital invested in education to return dividends of economic wealth sufficient to afford an education of European quality. There can be no doubt that this must be the final aim if Africans are to take their place side by side with Europeans in the development of a plural society. It must be remembered that at present education in the United Kingdom is based on a degree of productivity represented by an average annual income of £80 per head of population, whilst the corresponding figure for East and Central Africa varies from £1. 3s. in Nyasaland to £8. 12s. in Northern Rhodesia. In very broad terms education in the British Isles provides from eight to ten years of compulsory education for 100 per cent. of its children and from four to six years of selective education of varied types for 25 per cent. of its children. So equally the goal for East and Central Africa would be 100 per cent. of children in primary and middle schools and 25 per cent. in secondary schools of varied type as already defined in this report. And it would be our hope that each 'phase' of advance towards this goal would result in an increase of wealth sufficient to support an educational advance in the next phase. But because there is a time lag between money invested in education and its return in wealth, at every stage, educational advance calls for self-sacrifice and self-denial by Africans and Europeans alike. This is the price that must be paid for advance. If it is not paid, and the opportunities are lost by those who put present comfort before future well-being, the future for Africa would seem to us to be in doubt. But this is not the position as we have seen it. Rather it is that those who have worked hard in the past are ready now for an even greater effort in the future. It is to help them that we have tried to clarify some of the issues relating to advance in education, and even if in the process we have greatly over-simplified those issues, it is because of our belief that a few simple and clear objectives need to be defined and then sacrifices will be gladly made for the purpose of achieving them.

81. The first question to be asked is, 'In what precise terms should educational advance be measured?' We should like to make two suggestions in this connexion.

(i) It has been usual for all territories in their annual reports to estimate, and they can only estimate, the total number of children of school age and then to state the number of children actually in school as a percentage of that total. Different territories, however, have different ideas as to what constitutes 'school age' and different territories have very different proportions of their children in different classes of school. Nyasaland, for example, has only two secondary schools with a third in the making, while some other territories have a relatively high proportion of secondary schools to primary schools. In order to give a clear, reasonably accurate, and comparative statement of the situation we suggest that in future each territory should estimate as closely as possible the size of its age-group of children, that is to say, the number of children in each year of school age. Owing to the increase in population in most territories, the size of the age-group will be greater in the lower ranges but not sufficiently so to complicate matters unduly. Having found the size of the age-group, we suggest that each territory should state clearly in its annual report the proportion of that age-group who enter and also the proportion who successfully complete each of the school courses provided. If that were done those working on the spot, as well as those in other countries, would see a much clearer picture than is at present available of the extent to which each territory is providing for the education of its children in each class of school, and what is the pace of advance.

(ii) Educational advance and development plan targets have usually been thought of in terms of an increase in the total number of children in school, or an increase in the number of schools, or an increase in the number of training colleges. For reasons which we have given in earlier chapters, what seems to us to be a more important measure of advance in education is the percentage of an age-group who complete a four-year cycle of studies, and not the number who begin it but are lost by wastage, or who are in it at some time during its course. What is greatly needed is more primary school leavers, more middle school leavers, and more secondary school leavers who have completed the full course. This should be the index of advance and so all targets should be expressed in terms of the percentage of an age-group completing primary or middle or secondary school courses.

82. Before proceeding, therefore, it will be valuable to translate into these new percentages the present figures for the various territories. In the table below these are set out for the various territories, using the best figures available:

Number of children completing the 4th, 8th, and 12th class respectively as a percentage of the children in any one year of school age

<i>Territory</i>	<i>4th class</i>	<i>8th class</i>	<i>12th class</i>
	%	%	%
Nyasaland	10.4	1.4	0.02
Northern Rhodesia	38.9	2.89	0.05
Tanganyika	16.4	1.02	0.042
Uganda	19.7	1.2	0.14
Kenya	31.2	3.7	0.08

83. The second question is: 'Since resources are limited, where can money and personnel be withdrawn so as to be redirected at more fruitful points on the educational "front of advance"?' We have given reasons in other chapters for thinking that there are two places where money and personnel might be withdrawn and redirected. They are:

- (i) From unassisted or 'bush' schools managed by missions or Churches so that the money and effort could be redirected into schools where children complete at least four years.
- (ii) From primary schools where wastage is high, by a vigorous prosecution of all the steps suggested to reduce wastage, so that money and teachers are provided only for schools where the large majority finish a four-year course of primary studies. This redirection of effort should result at first in the reduction of the size of the lower classes and the elimination of double sessions, and then later in the expansion of primary education.

84. Expansion in secondary education must be based, for the present, principally on an increase in the number of teachers coming to Africa from Europe. Such teachers are expensive, but, in the early years of expansion, essential to the development of African education.

85. Any large increase in the provision of education must rest upon a corresponding increase in the development of the natural resources of a territory. This development will be very greatly helped if from the new middle schools there can flow a steady stream of resourceful, intelligent Africans who are literate in English and who have had a sound practical and general education in a school where the keynote has been that of service to the community. The middle schools, therefore, occupy a most crucial position in relation to education expansion. Their pupils can help to produce the wealth and must produce the teachers necessary before any further expansion is possible in primary education. They must also be numerous enough to contain sufficient able children to be selected for secondary education. The position of the middle schools is thus crucial in any scheme of advance and their expansion must be given the first priority. This position is clearly appreciated in Tanganyika and Kenya, where immense efforts are being made to speed up advance in the middle schools.

86. In every territory there are areas where the demand for education is in excess of the supply, and on the other hand there are areas where it is still difficult to persuade the people to send their children to school. In the past the progressive areas have been required for the most part to wait in great impatience for more schools while Government struggled to get the backward areas into line. This statement applies particularly to primary education, which is local in its supply, while secondary and to a large extent intermediate education are provided on a regional basis.

If our proposals for the financing of primary education are adopted, the progressive areas, which are usually the richer areas, would be able to advance rapidly, largely at their own expense, and would soon be in sight of compulsory primary education, while Governments could concentrate their efforts and resources, to a large extent, on the backward areas. It would still be necessary for Government and missions to train teachers for the progressive areas, but that, we think, would be an expenditure justified by the extent to which the cost of the schools in those areas would be borne locally.

87. Advances in primary and middle school education would make possible a much more valid selection of children for secondary education at the end of the middle school course than is at present possible. As middle schools increase in number it should be possible to increase secondary schools after a short time-lag because the supply of secondary school leavers is at present very far indeed below the need in all territories.

88. We suggest, therefore, that territories should reconsider their development plans in relation to an immediate target which is defined in terms of 50 per cent. of the age-group completing a four-year primary school course, 10 per cent. of the age-group completing a four-year middle school course, and 2 per cent. completing a four-year secondary school course. Territories differ greatly in resources, but it will be useful for each territory to estimate the number of years needed to reach this target and to express year by year its progress in terms of advance towards it. Such a target would by no means represent the final goal, but when achieved would represent a very great advance.

89. As already stated, the final goal should be a primary and middle school education for all and a secondary education for 25 per cent. of the child population. The question might be asked whether this final goal of educational development is actually attainable; or whether a European standard of education does not imply a European scale of industrialization. This does not follow. Canadian provinces that are almost wholly agricultural can provide such an education. The same may be said of Denmark. Industrialization will certainly increase, and the development of sources of power is vital even for progress in agriculture, but the scale of progress we have sketched can be related to economic progress that is based on agriculture and a predominantly rural civilization, provided both are modern and enlightened. Given the effort and the self-sacrifice it seems to us not extravagant to entertain the hope that such progress may be made within the next twenty-five years. And if such self-sacrifice is to be called forth, it must be because it is recognized that the goal of a plural society, in which the members of all races can contribute on equal terms because they enjoy equal educational opportunities, is both a worthy goal and an attainable one.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 8

RECOMMENDATION NO. 12

We recommend that each territory should now reconsider its development plan and should begin by estimating as closely as possible the number of children in each year

of school age. It should then state the proportion of the age-group who enter and who successfully complete a primary course of four years, a middle course of four years, and a secondary course of four years, so that all targets of

advance can in future be expressed in terms of the proportion of the age-group who complete each of the school courses.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 13

We recommend that territories should reconsider their development plans in relation to an immediate target which is defined in terms of 50 per cent. of the age-group completing a four-year primary school course, 10 per cent. of the age-group completing a four-year middle school

course, and 2 per cent. completing a four-year secondary school course. Territories differ greatly in resources, but it would be useful for each territory to estimate the number of years needed to reach this target and to express year by year its progress in terms of advance towards it. Such a target would by no means represent the final goal, but when achieved would represent a very great advance. When this target has been achieved a new target should be announced in each territory.

9. WASTAGE

90. Wastage is the term applied to the loss of children from a school during the course provided by that school. As long as school attendance is voluntary it is quite clear that there must be some loss of pupils in this way, but the extent of the wastage in the schools of East and Central Africa is at present so great in all territories that it detracts very largely from the efficiency of the educational system and leads to an immense waste of money and, what is even more important, of good human material. This came to us as a shock, but it is so familiar a feature of the educational landscape that there is a danger of its being accepted as inevitable. We met numerous people working in the field, both European and African, who clearly realized the damage done and were trying to find ways of checking it, but the Beecher Report in Kenya, for example, recently proposed a school organization for the next few years accepting and based upon a wastage of 50 per cent. of the children during the primary course.

91. We have already given reasons why we recommend an eight-years' primary intermediate course with a break after the first four years, and therefore we now append a table showing the number of children in each of the first four years of school life in each of the five large territories which we have visited.

TABLE—1950

Territory	No. of children			
	1st class	2nd class	3rd class	4th class
Nyasaland .	40,177	23,352	9,920	5,145
Northern Rhodesia .	58,503	28,450	22,315	15,226
Tanganyika	58,144	40,201	30,464	23,142
Uganda .	50,018	38,159	27,084	21,571
Kenya .	127,287	70,413	50,036	36,552

This table shows how serious is the problem of wastage, but we do not claim that it accurately measures the extent of the wastage, though it does give a general indication of its extent. For example, not all the children progress from class to class annually; some are required by their teachers, often as a result of an annual examination, to repeat a class, and in some instances children have to repeat a class because there is no room for them in the next highest class. In many districts of most territories there is also a slow but steady rise in the number of children entering school each year. Another obvious method of measuring

wastage is to compare the number of children in the second class in any one year with the number in the first class in the previous year and so on, but that method also suffers from most of the complications we have described. Our table does show, however, that in every territory the majority of the children do not complete the first four years of primary education and in some instances only a small minority complete the course. We have asked hundreds of witnesses what period is required under present conditions in African schools to give the average child literacy to such an extent that he has a fair chance of retaining it, and the great majority of our witnesses have claimed that four years are required. Some have named a longer period, but scarcely anybody has named a shorter period than four years, and we have asked this question of officials, missionaries, teachers, and African parents. We have also asked: 'If a child does not get literacy from his primary course, does he get anything? Is there any background or moral effect for example?' The majority of our witnesses say: 'No, if a child does not get literacy he gets nothing,' and that majority amounts, we calculate, to about 75 per cent. of those we questioned. The minority, which includes one director of education, think that a child does get something from a period of school less than four years, but these witnesses are offset by those who say that a child who attends school without becoming literate often gets damage, for he may become maladjusted, feeling that he has wasted his time or has been cheated, or his parents may assess his little learning too highly. If, therefore, we accept the views of the majority of our witnesses, the money spent on attempting to educate a child who does not stay four years at school is wasted as completely as if it were burned, and moreover, there is the waste of human material also to be reckoned on the debit side of the account. In territories where there is not enough money at present available to educate more than a fraction of the children, it is clear that a high proportion of the money that is being spent is being completely wasted; a state of affairs which is surely insupportable.

92. Continuing our inquiries we have asked hundreds of witnesses about the causes of wastage and it transpires that there are all sorts of opinions on this subject. One basic question revealed a great diversity of opinion, namely, is it the child or his parent that removes the child from school? The plain fact is that nobody knows what are the fundamental causes of wastage, though many people have opinions, and clearly one of the first things to

do is to carry out research on scientific lines to find out why children do not complete the course. This will be the first recommendation we shall append to this chapter, but it may be useful here to discuss some of the causes which have been guessed at and which no doubt have a considerable weight of fact behind them, though the causes of wastage are probably different in different areas. In the first place many children have considerable difficulty in getting to school and many quite young children have to travel distances each morning and evening up to ten miles through country where communications are bad and become almost impossible at certain seasons of the year. In some areas wild animals are by no means a negligible factor and we heard of little stragglers from the main body of children who have been picked off by lions or leopards on their way home from school. When children get to a primary school, they often find a dark, damp, dilapidated, and depressing building, for some of the primary schools of Africa are housed in premises so bad that nobody defends them. Where the teaching is dull and boring this is obviously discouraging to the brighter pupils and ineffective with the dull ones. Many of the class-rooms are much overcrowded and children are often packed together on a form so that some of them have no room to write and in one instance one could not even be seen. Some schools have no furniture in their lowest classes and children are required to clutch a slate in their hands while they make their first attempts to write. It is often alleged that children are withdrawn from school to herd cattle, sheep, goats, and there is no doubt that children are very largely employed for these purposes, but wastage is also very great in those areas where there is very little livestock. It is often alleged that school fees cause wastage, but wastage is particularly heavy in that territory which has gone a long way towards the abolition of fees in primary schools. Double sessions are often quoted as a reason for wastage, but on the other hand wastage is heavy where there are no double sessions. Retention of children in the same class for a second year, migration of parents, and the necessity for children to help in collecting food are no doubt other contributory causes. While there is no single cause for wastage and while the causes vary from area to area, one thing at any rate was clear to us, namely, that the teacher is the biggest factor operating in this matter, for during the course of our inquiries from time to time certain schools claimed that their wastage was very small and we made particular inquiries into the circumstances of such schools. We found, in every instance, that a school which had cut wastage down to negligible proportions had a good head teacher who had worked for a thorough understanding between school and home. Sometimes there was a headmaster who encouraged his staff to spend part of their week-ends in visiting homes and discussing children with parents, while parents were also encouraged to visit schools whenever they could. On the other hand, we sometimes found a very small class in the middle of the four years' course and inquiries almost invariably led to the fact that that particular class had just had a poor teacher.

93. Wastage is particularly serious during the primary course because of the evidence given to us that a pupil who does not complete four years gets no benefit from his schooling, but wastage is also a factor to be taken into account in the post-primary schools, particularly in the

case of girls, many of whom leave to get married before they complete a middle or secondary course. We came across one class in a girls' secondary school where the full time of a European teacher was absorbed by four girls, that number being all that remained in the top class of the school. European teachers are scarce and expensive and it seemed to us a very bad thing that the services of a teacher should be partly wasted in this way. That was an extreme case, but throughout the whole school system there is no doubt that the loss of teaching power and of school places due to wastage is immense. Whenever attempts are being made to increase the proportion of children in school, difficulties encountered through lack of money, lack of building materials, and lack of labour are very great. If wastage could be cut down, the proportion of children in school could be very greatly increased with comparatively small increases in expenditure.

94. Having drawn attention to this evil in strong terms and having discussed its causes at some length, it is obviously our next task to suggest remedies, if we can. Better teaching, better buildings, and better furniture and equipment are obvious improvements. We have already indicated the need for research, and we have already indicated that the influence of the teachers in this matter is paramount. Our next suggestions follow obviously, namely, the importance of wastage should be strongly emphasized during the training of every teacher. When possible students should, with the help of their supervisors, study wastage, diagnose its causes, and work out schemes whereby the teacher himself can take his share in checking and preventing it. They should be encouraged to appreciate the importance of keeping in close and friendly touch with the children's homes and parents.

95. Parents should also have the importance of this matter brought home to them, particularly the point that less than four years will be a complete waste of the child's time and their money. Where there is competition for school places, the likelihood of the completion of the four years' course should be taken into account in selecting children, and many schools have found it advisable to require parents to give an undertaking in writing to keep their children at school for the full course. Even where it is impossible to enforce this agreement legally we were assured that it had considerable moral force. An expedient which has not been tried but which we suggest should be given a trial is the return of a proportion of the fees to the parent when his child has successfully completed the school course.

96. Another factor which can usefully be brought to bear is the influence of those in authority over the people, particularly the district commissioner and the chief. It was clear to us in a number of instances that chiefs were exerting a very good influence on school attendance, but unfortunately some chiefs are illiterate and have little grasp of the importance of education. In those and other instances district commissioners can do and are already doing a lot to influence chiefs and Africans generally in the right direction, and every attempt should be made to enlist their support. African local authorities where they exist can also exert valuable influences in this connexion, and some of them are passing local ordinances requiring children who start school to complete a course and are employing school attendance officers to enforce those

ordinances. We are bound to say, however, that in our experience of African conditions, compulsion of this kind has not always been successful and we think that the appeals to the teacher, the parent, and those in authority which we have already suggested are likely to be more effective in most areas.

97. Lastly, we have a suggestion to make about the ages of pupils, particularly in the primary school where the age-range is in some territories as much as six years in each class. Certain territories have already begun to control the age and time of admission to school, but others have made little attempt to do so because they hesitate to prevent the older pupils from making a start in the lowest classes. We believe that a lot could be done to check wastage by controlling the age of admission and the age-range per class as certain territories are already attempting to do. Where the pupils are sufficiently numerous, it should be possible to provide special classes and more specially designed courses for those who do not begin their education until they are over ten years old. Those who begin late

are unlikely to stay the course unless special provision is made for them in the way we suggest, and they make it much more difficult for teachers to do their best for the younger pupils.

98. We shall return to the question of school fees in a later chapter, but in connexion with wastage we consider it appropriate to state here our opinion that school fees should be moderate, should be accompanied by a proper system of remission in necessitous cases, and should be uniform during a course. Where the fee rises as the pupil progresses through the school, there is an obvious danger that a parent will fail to pay.

99. Most of the remedies we suggest here are already being tried out. What we have done is to draw together the best advice we could collect from all those working in the field so that a new and concerted attack might be made on this problem, not by the application of single remedies in scattered areas but by the united and determined effort of all workers in a territory using all possible remedies simultaneously.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 9

RECOMMENDATION NO. 14

We recommend that:

- (a) Scientific research should be undertaken at Makerere College and elsewhere into the causes of wastage.
- (b) In every teacher-training college the damage done by wastage should be impressed on students in training together with the necessity of keeping in touch with the homes of children on this and other points, and an appeal should be made to the sense of vocation of teachers on this issue. Visits should be arranged to schools where wastage has been cut down to a minimum.
- (c) Parents should have the importance of wastage explained to them and should be asked to undertake that their children shall complete the course; also the experiment should be tried of returning a proportion of the fees to those parents whose children successfully pass through the complete course at school.
- (d) The assistance of district commissioners, chiefs,

and local African authorities should be enlisted in controlling wastage.

- (e) The ages of children entering school and the age-range per class should be controlled to ensure a reasonable chance that pupils will complete the course.
- (f) School fees should be moderate, and should be uniform throughout a course; and there should be a proper system for remission of fees in necessitous cases.
- (g) Special courses should be devised for those who do not enter school until they are ten years old or more.
- (h) Only in exceptional circumstances should a child be required to stay in the same class for a second year.
- (i) A concerted attack should be made on wastage over a whole territory by the application of every likely remedy simultaneously by all working in the field of education and social welfare.
- (j) A child should advance annually through the first four standards of the primary school without examinations or tests except in rare cases of retardation due to illness or some special cause.

IO. LANGUAGE

100. Without taking the extreme view of classical educators that all education is education in language, it must be granted that language studies always occupy a central position in the curriculum and in the case of Africa occupy a crucial position in relation to advance. Literacy, as Africans keenly realize, opens windows on to a new world; a world of books, ideas, entertainment, inventions, and trade; and also of spiritual truth. But this literacy, for the African, may be and often has to be in three languages; the vernacular, a *lingua franca* (generally Swahili), and English. A wise language policy could release the African from much of the tyranny of linguistic study and some of the burdens of an overstocked memory, deepening both his

roots in his native culture and his participation in world culture. It could also lead to a great leap forward in education. This policy seems to us to be the giving of a quite new emphasis both to the vernacular and to English studies.

101. In Nyasaland English is begun in the third year and to some extent is used as the medium of instruction in the fourth and fifth years. In Uganda the vernacular is the medium of instruction during the first four years of school life, English is begun in the fifth year and becomes the medium of instruction by the eighth year. In Tanganyika the vernacular is the medium of instruction in the first year of school life, Swahili is begun in the second year and soon becomes the medium of instruction, whilst

English is not begun until the fifth year and only becomes the medium of instruction by the eighth year. In Kenya some attempts have been made to teach English earlier in school life than the fifth year, but the language policy of the Beecher Report may bring these to an end. In Somaliland English is begun in the second year of school life, but it has to take second place to Somali and Arabic. Nevertheless it is often taught so well that some schools use it to a certain extent as the medium of instruction in the fourth class. In Northern Rhodesia English is also begun in the second year and becomes the medium of instruction by the fifth year. In Zanzibar the position is complicated by the addition of Arabic as a subject of study. Swahili is the language of instruction in the first year of school life and Arabic is begun as a written language in the second year, but is only used as a spoken language in religious instruction. English is sometimes begun in the third year but more often in the fourth year, and becomes the medium of instruction by the seventh year. The results of these policies in regard to language can be judged at a very simple level in terms of their contribution to (a) continuation of literacy after leaving school, (b) equality of secondary education, (c) simplicity of teacher-training arrangements, and (d) effective adult education. Judged by these elementary criteria the language policies of Northern Rhodesia and Somaliland seemed to confer substantial benefits as compared with those of other territories, and it seemed to us that the work being done in these two territories should be carefully studied by the others. Before any sure recommendations can be made, however, the question must be considered in detail under the three heads of:

- (i) the teaching of the Vernacular;
- (ii) the teaching of Swahili; and
- (iii) the teaching of English.

102. To preserve the vernacular languages of Africa is to preserve the tribes that speak them and to strengthen the moral sanctions that rest on tribal membership. If a distinctive African contribution is to be made to the world it must be based on the African's love and respect for the mental inheritance of his people, and much of this is enshrined in language. Learning a foreign language in the early stages is necessarily an imitative and memorizing process, and to place too much emphasis on this too early in school life is to encourage an imitative rather than a creative habit of mind. The mother-tongue is the most potent to awaken the dawning imagination through songs, stories, nursery-rhymes, folk-tales, and proverbs; it touches the heart as well as the brain; it records and preserves a culture that is fleeting. Unless the study of the vernacular is given its right importance, another cause will be added to those which tend to uproot the African without giving him a firm footing in a new and stable society. African tribal life was based in essence on spiritual values. To the Christian, some of these appear as true and good; some bad and false. But there is a danger that even those which were good are being discarded, whilst what is being taken from western culture is not its spiritual strength but its materialistic weakness. The vernacular studies open the way to the study of African history, customs, songs, beliefs, and literature, and by awakening spiritual insight can play their part in helping the African to select the best from the spiritual strength of western

culture. During the first year of school life instruction must necessarily be in the vernacular, for the symbols of literacy must first be related to the mother-tongue. If this is done when the child has reached the stage of reading-readiness and not before (i.e. not before six years of age and perhaps later), reading and writing are learnt with great swiftness, not as an imposed discipline, but as part of natural development. It is a corollary of this that there must be enough teachers to do this work in the first year and to carry the vernacular studies strongly forward throughout school life. This will certainly not be a practical possibility if *all* African vernaculars are preserved and accepted as subjects of school studies. The production of school texts alone poses an insoluble practical problem. The new flux and movement of African life is now destroying some vernaculars and blurring others. If the attempt is made to preserve all vernaculars, all will be lost; and indeed it is possible to see the beginnings of this process already at work. In Uganda, for example, there are at least three main vernaculars which could be preserved; Luganda, Luo, and Lunyoro-Lunyankole. In each territory, therefore, a careful selection should be made of a few vernaculars that can be preserved. These should be selected after careful consultation so that systematic training in them and them alone can be given in a standardized orthography in all schools and colleges.

103. Many African languages have not yet standardized their orthographies. It is important that this should be done now for the chosen vernaculars at a conference called by departments of education. Once an orthography has been settled by majority decision its teaching in the schools should be enforced, if necessary by financial sanctions. The record of some mission educators in terms of loyalty to a majority decision has not always been perfect in the past.

104. In the four years of the primary school the vernacular should be the medium of instruction throughout except to a limited degree in the final year. Vernacular language study should be given the widest connotation. One aim should be to make the pupil competent to read and express himself with ease and freedom in the vernacular. This is in fact a prerequisite for his powers of expression later in English. In the primary school should be studied the unwritten histories, traditions, songs of praise, elegies, dirges, animal stories, satires, proverbs, rhymes, customs, and courtesies of the people. In this the teacher could sometimes bring in to help him an elder of the tribe. In the Masai country of Kenya we met wise men, sometimes not even literate, who under the title of part-time teachers of tribal history were giving useful and ready help to teachers in return for a very small honorarium. This seemed to us to show excellent initiative on the part of the education officer. Some mission educators might see in this the danger of a return to pagan teaching. If their fears were strong they could seek for a Christian teacher who had kept alive a knowledge of traditional thought. Such unwritten knowledge embodies mental and spiritual experiences that ought to be passed on to the rising generation, and often these are expressed in literary forms which are beautiful and valuable in themselves.

105. The oral teaching of the vernacular is, of course, very important in the primary school. Clear and beautiful speech should be encouraged by narration, discussion, and drama. Children love to tell a story or to narrate their

experiences. This they should often do; but rarely as a class; always in small groups, or pairs; for only so will they get the practice they need. Discussion is an art that needs a new emphasis in the training colleges. The weak teacher uses only dialogue; a teacher asks a question, a child rises from his seat to answer whilst the rest of a large class remain inert and passive. You cannot have discussion if children sit in rows facing a teacher; the shape of the group must be circular. You cannot have discussion if children are continually bobbing up and down like corks. They must sit whilst they talk. Discussion is very important, for it teaches children to express their ideas in words that are properly ordered and it has a long-term value because of the important part played by discussion in a free society.

106. Discussion can take many forms. The teacher can raise an issue and ask for different expressions of points of view, calling on speakers by name. Or the class can be grouped in pairs and asked to discuss a given topic; or broken up into small groups of four or five. Or there can be impromptu speeches or a brains trust or a forum or a formal debate; anything to break the deadly monotony of the teacher-child interlocation before a passive class, that is at present so often found.

107. Africans have natural acting ability, and dramatic activities by small groups are not only excellent speech training but develop the imagination wonderfully. We saw many African teachers who used such methods almost unconsciously, but there is a need for a much more conscious use of dramatic methods in the primary school.

108. Reading in the vernacular is important because in the early stages of education it can give great pleasure and sense of achievement and be a means by which children come to understand their society and environment. The difficulty is that very little vernacular literature exists. Until the choice and limitation of vernaculars has been made it is not likely to increase much and even then, for reasons of costs, it must be greatly restricted as compared with English literature. But what does exist should be available to children in the class-room, and this will not happen until the usual class methods of teaching reading are modified in favour of individual and group methods and the standard class 'Reader' replaced by a 'Reading Corner' of the class-room where there is at least one shelf of books and papers.

109. Writing in the vernacular is equally important. Stories, imaginative compositions, poetry, drama, advertisements, letters, posters, wall-newspapers, invitations, or other matters suited to the mind of the primary school child can combine discipline with creative activity, and at the same time be a practical instrument in everyday life.

110. In the middle school, the vernacular language policy to be followed must to some extent be determined by the number of language groups in the school. When the chosen vernaculars are limited in number it should be possible in some cases to continue one vernacular as a medium of instruction in a suitable group of subjects whilst using English in others to an increasing degree as the child proceeds up the school. All the language activities already described can be continued in a form adapted to the mental age of the child. Lack of textbooks in the vernaculars, however, means that special emphasis must be given to the study of English, and this is dealt with in later paragraphs.

111. So long as the senior secondary schools are limited in number it is clear that English must be the language of instruction, but more vernaculars should continue to be studied up to School Certificate standard and then, but not before, the study of the grammar of the vernacular would find its place. Teachers able to promote this study will not exist in numbers until there is a School of African Languages at Makerere College and until the study of the vernacular is continued at the training colleges perhaps as part of a more general subject called 'African Studies' in which language is linked with music, drama, history, and dance.

112. Swahili has become the mother-tongue of some Africans, particularly in the coastal regions of Tanganyika and Kenya. For these people, all that has been said already about the teaching of the vernacular applies with little change, except that, unlike the African vernaculars, Swahili is not so rooted in an ancient social and spiritual tradition. Historically it had its origins as a means of communication between Arab slavers and African enslaved. Some African tribes therefore are unwilling, even when they know Swahili, to speak it and most unhappy when it is taught to their children. Its somewhat unhappy origin has to some extent been overlaid by the thought of the happy, imaginative Bantu peoples who have used it for several hundreds of years and it has inspired a little good poetry and some original stories.

113. As it is a simple, phonetic language, with such a very large Bantu ingredient, it is easy to learn, so can readily be established as a school *lingua franca*. But as a *lingua franca* it suffers from two great disadvantages. Its origins mean that its vocabulary is limited, so that for subtle, modern, or abstract thought English terms must be added. And as a *lingua franca* it is steadily giving place to English, even if this is often of a primitive kind. Apart from school texts, the printed books in Swahili occupy a tiny section of a school library and the rate of production of new books is very slight.

114. The existence of Swahili in Kenya and Tanganyika and its place in school teaching is unfortunate, for it seems to have affected adversely the teaching both of the vernacular and of English. It comes in between the study of these two languages as an element confusing the educational picture. Its existence as a third language of study adds a burden on to the African schoolchild in his attempts to reach up to educational equality with Europeans. The freedom from this burden in Northern Rhodesia has clearly contributed to its educational progress. In schools where Swahili is taught, the vernacular tends to be soon neglected. The later study of English also suffers, and this may be because Africans speaking Swahili tend to transfer into their English speech the curious sentence structures which they hear spoken by Europeans who know only 'kitchen-Swahili'. In the face of a multiplicity of vernaculars, it seems an easy way to get a quick language of instruction for the primary school by teaching Swahili. But this is far too easy a policy and greatly over-emphasizes the utilitarian function of the primary school course. Effort and money are wasted unless the literacy given in the primary school can be maintained. There is not a sufficient amount or depth of literature in Swahili available to the school leaver to justify its teaching. It offers insufficient language basis for the work of the middle school, where

nearly all the textbooks are in English, and so it is important that a child should come to the middle school with a sufficient knowledge of English to be able to read simple texts easily. It complicates the scheme for the training of teachers, for it tends to perpetuate the production of a low grade of teacher trained in a small centre who can teach in Swahili but whose English is absent or poor. It holds up the development of adult education work based on English and deprives such work of the support of many of the schools and the teachers.

115. It is worth recording that this view was endorsed by every one of the many African groups with whom the question was discussed. There are some vested interests that will resist change; those whose knowledge of Swahili bestows financial or other advantages upon them; and the very few Europeans who perhaps unconsciously do not wish to share their language with the Africans; but these people are few and the number of Africans and Europeans who would welcome the change is very great. We suggest, therefore, that because the present teaching of Swahili stands in the way of the strong development of both vernacular and English teaching, a policy should be followed which leads to its eventual elimination from all schools where it is taught as a *lingua franca*. In putting this policy into effect different transitional policies could be followed by Kenya and Tanganyika. In Kenya a policy of gradual elimination over the whole territory could be followed. In Tanganyika a more piecemeal policy would be wiser. At first one or two 'vernacular areas' (such as, for example, the Wagogo area) could be detached from the main Swahili teaching *bloc* and in them a vigorous vernacular plus English policy pursued. This policy of 'detachment' could continue until in the end an area would be left in which only Swahili and English remained as teaching languages and where Swahili could grow to maturity as a vehicle of culture.

116. English is important to Africans for three main reasons; as a *lingua franca*; as a road to the technical knowledge of modern inventions; and a means of contact with world thought.

117. The movement of population and rapid improvement of communications is bringing together people from scattered regions of Africa, so that Swahili no longer has a wide enough spread to be a useful *lingua franca*, even in East Africa. As the territories develop closer associations the need for English will steadily increase.

118. Africans are avid to secure the technical knowledge and skill which will, they hope, raise them out of poverty and the ever-present fear of drought and famine, and they know that this knowledge in any amount is only available to the man who can read English. Every week new links are forged through trade with the outside world and so the utilitarian reasons for learning English grow stronger.

119. The knowledge of English introduces the reader to the vast storehouse of English literature and indeed of world literature, for more foreign books have been translated into English than any other language. Now broadcasting and films penetrate into the remotest parts and can only be fully enjoyed by those who understand English.

120. The African needs English today in the same sense and to the same degree as the Renaissance European needed Greek or Greek thought in Latin form. English thought could come to Africa with all the liberating power

of Greek thought to Europe. Language carries with it the spiritual values on which it is based. Some of the moral confusion and lack of integrity in Africa comes from the fact that English, not being taught in the primary school, is understood only by the very few and European ideas come to Africans through the confused barrier of language: through the medium of Swahili; or a vernacular imperfectly spoken; or English very imperfectly understood, either because the hearer had learnt it imperfectly or because it was spoken by a foreign missionary. A better, wider, and deeper knowledge of English would mean a better understanding of European thought, and some steps would be taken towards that synthesis of African and European ideas which must be the basis of a firm moral and social order.

121. There is a good deal of unnecessary fear by Europeans of giving European knowledge to the African in its pure European form; so textbooks are Africanized and European ideas translated into African terms. This is, unfortunately, often done by those whose knowledge of Africa is great but whose knowledge of European thought, for that very reason, is out of date. Africans themselves are more capable of selecting and adapting from European thought than is frequently realized, but are often held back by their lack of knowledge of the English language.

122. We suggest, therefore, that as soon as competent teachers are available, the teaching of English should be begun in the second year of school life, with the aim of giving in three years of study reading ability sufficient to ensure permanent literacy given adequate follow-up. By the time that the fourth class is reached English should be used as the medium of instruction in one or two subjects, as an extension of the direct method of teaching it.

123. Apart from the lack of considered policy, the view that at present prevents this action is the view that sufficient teachers of English can only be found very slowly. This is a difficulty, but the vigorous and enlightened language policies of Northern Rhodesia and Somaliland shows that it is a difficulty that can be resolved. Guided by experience in these two territories we should suggest the following ways of meeting it:

- (a) Wherever there is a qualified teacher of English in a school, his programme of work should be arranged so that he teaches English throughout the classes down to Class II, the balance of his work being shared by his colleagues.
- (b) A special increment should be offered to all teachers at present unqualified to teach English who can pass a suitable test in English. Teachers with a knowledge of English should be urged to form small classes of their unqualified colleagues with a view to coaching them for this new test.
- (c) The training of vernacular teachers, ill-qualified in English, should be stopped, and great attention given in all training colleges to the study of English, so that all future teachers emerge qualified to teach English in the schools.

If these steps were taken, such is the present keenness and desire to learn and teach English, it is likely that within six months the majority of the schools could provide English teaching from Class II at least as good as that which is at present being provided later in the school course.

124. Developments in psychology and child-study since 1900 have had far-reaching effects on the methods of teaching reading in Europe and America. The principles on which reading should be taught are set out in a pamphlet *The Improvement of Reading in the Junior School*, by E. R. Boyce (E. J. Arnold & Sons, Ltd.), and this should be in the hands of every teacher in training. The material aids which enable the English teacher to put these principles into effect exist in abundance in England. They are, naturally, written and illustrated for the typical English child against the background of English life. It is desirable that a group of teachers with African experience should as soon as possible 'translate' a set of these aids into an African idiom so that the teachers of the upper three primary classes could use the new methods. Such a set of aids should then be produced cheaply in bulk for all African territories. In the meantime English aids could be used, for the evils of a possible Europeanization of young Africans would be far less than the evils of old-fashioned teaching methods, so alien to the interests and natural development of the child. An example will illustrate this point. At an early stage in learning to read, the child should be introduced to a series of simple, well-illustrated story-books which he can read silently, as an individual, at his own pace. They must suit his childish interests and stimulate his curiosity. They must begin with a light vocabulary and an easy vocabulary gradient. Many repetitions in different guises must give practice without the monotonous drill of the 'reader', and illustrations must link meaning with letterpress. Many of such simple readers for children are European animal-tales that would be most popular with African children and could be used at once with advantage.

125. It is important, however, that if English is to be taught lower down the school, the methods of teaching should be those which are now practised in the best schools of Europe and America. Such methods must, however, be first taught in the training colleges. For the time being English teaching will no doubt be given mainly by the methods based on the 'Oxford Readers' or Readers of a similar or inferior type now almost exclusively used. These methods produce results, but at a great cost, for they are based on a style of teaching that is 'teacher-dominated' instead of 'child-centred'. Before such a revolution of methods can be begun, even in the training colleges, there must be much careful production of reading-aids and reading materials, which are as adapted to individual and group-work as the Oxford Reader is adapted to 'lock-step' class teaching methods. We suggest, therefore, that a group of teachers with knowledge of modern methods of teaching reading and with African experience should produce a set of reading books and aids adapted to individual and group work in the primary school with a view to the production of these cheaply and in bulk for all the African territories.

126. It is vital that from the outset the special purpose of English teaching in each of the three cycles of studies should be recognized. In the primary school, English will be taught for two reasons (a) for its use as a *lingua franca*, and (b) as a means by which after leaving school, through the written word, the general education of the individual can be continued. Now both of these aims mean that the emphasis in the primary school must be mainly on reading

ability and only secondarily on oral ability. For the persistence of literacy, reading ability is easily the paramount need. So far as the first aim is concerned, most of those who leave the primary school will need English, not so much to talk to English people, as to talk to each other, and for this purpose mutual understanding is more important than strict oral accuracy. It is also much easier for Africans to teach reading and writing well than to teach oral English well, because for many years teachers themselves will be indifferent oral teachers of English. Now the method of teaching English in the early stages based on readers of the Oxford Reader type is primarily an oral method and only secondarily a written method. This order must be reversed. This does not mean to say that there will not be much use of oral methods, for, to the extent that these are lively, useful, and natural, they can obviously greatly facilitate reading ability; but it is by the criterion of reading ability that English teaching should be judged in the primary school.

127. In the middle school, English will be needed at first so that books containing useful information can be read easily. There is therefore a need for giving a great deal of time in the first year of the middle school to the study of English. One intermediate school in Kenya has tried the interesting experiment of giving as many as fifteen periods a week to the study of English in the first year. Surprisingly enough, it seems to show that the time lost from other subjects is more than made up in the second year because there is a much wider and quicker reading of books in English. In the latter two years of the middle school course, however, more and more attention should be given to oral English, for those who finish the middle school course will be working with Europeans and must understand and be understood.

128. In the secondary school more emphasis still should be placed on spoken English, for the secondary school graduate must come up to equality in his work with Europeans. It is a great pity therefore that there is not at present any oral examination in English at the School Certificate level. It should be no more difficult to organize than, for example, practical examinations in biology or needlework and should certainly be instituted. Its absence may be one cause of the low standard of spoken English in the secondary school. If the preoccupation with grammar and nineteenth-century literature were replaced by a greater emphasis upon contemporary and dramatic literature, this might also assist the teacher who wished his pupils to attain a high standard of spoken English. We suggest, therefore, that in the primary school, English should be taught mainly to produce good reading ability, but that in the middle and secondary schools an increasing attention should be given to spoken English. An oral examination in English should form part of the School Certificate Examination and the literature papers should, by reference to contemporary and dramatic literature, or in other ways, help to raise the level of spoken English a good deal above its present standard.

129. This way of looking at the English teaching in the schools is functional rather than academic, but this will not make it the less appreciated by Africans, for although they are often attracted by the false lure of the seeming academic, there is also a strong practical element in them which keeps them close to reality.

130. Without English, the teacher is shut off from an educational literature that will enliven his training and permit of variation and flexibility in his teaching. The lack of professional literature in the vernacular means that a teacher has to depend upon a limited supply of textbooks to supplement his notes and has no background of reference books with which to enrich his teaching of the set syllabuses. Yet in some training colleges English is not even a compulsory examination subject and in many it is very little used. We think that very great stress should be laid on the teaching of English in all training colleges, both as part of the general education of the student, and also to enable him to play an important part in a language

policy which gives a quite new importance and weight equally to the study of selected vernaculars and to English.

131. The task of assisting Africans to become proficient in English is not one which should be thought of as being exclusive to the schools. All English-speaking people in Africa have a responsibility as teachers of English and should seize suitable opportunities to assist in this work. In particular we should like to pay a tribute to the work of the British Council and the Information Services, for it is they who, outside of the schools, are spreading the knowledge of English most widely. We were impressed not only with the amount but the quality of this work and hope that no false economy will lead to its curtailment.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 10

RECOMMENDATION NO. 15

We recommend that in each territory a careful selection should be made of a few vernaculars so that systematic training in them and them alone can be given in a standardized orthography in all schools and colleges.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 16

We recommend that particular attention should be paid to the teaching of a selected vernacular language in the primary school; by speech, discussion, drama, and composition, as well as by reading to the degree that literature is available; and that the study should be used to root the child firmly in his environment.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 17

We recommend that in the middle and secondary schools the study of one or two vernaculars should be continued so far as teachers are available and large enough groups can be formed in a particular vernacular. In time this work should carry some pupils up to the level of the School Certificate Examination in a chosen vernacular. The following of this policy will call for the continuation of vernacular language study at training colleges and the development of a School of African Languages at Makerere College, Uganda.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 18

We recommend that a policy should be followed which leads to the eventual elimination of Swahili from all schools where it is taught as a *lingua franca*. In putting this policy into effect different transitional policies could be followed by Kenya and Tanganyika. In Kenya, a policy of gradual elimination over the whole territory could be followed. In Tanganyika a more piecemeal policy would be wiser. At first one or two 'vernacular areas' (such as, for example, the Wagogo area) could be detached from the main Swahili-teaching *bloc* and in them a vigorous vernacular plus English policy pursued. This policy of 'detachment' could continue until in the end an area would be left in which only Swahili and English remained as teaching languages and where Swahili could grow to maturity as a vehicle of culture.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 19

We recommend that as soon as competent teachers are available the teaching of English should be begun in the second year of school life with the aim of giving in three years of study reading ability sufficient to ensure perma-

nent literacy given adequate follow-up. By the time that the fourth class is reached English should be used as the medium of instruction in one or two subjects as an extension of the direct method of teaching it.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 20

We recommend that

- (a) wherever there is a qualified teacher of English in a school, his programme of work should be arranged so that he teaches English throughout the classes down to Class II, the balance of his work being shared by his colleagues;
- (b) a special increment should be offered to all teachers at present unqualified to teach English who can pass a suitable test in English. Teachers with a knowledge of English should be urged to form small classes of their unqualified colleagues with a view to coaching them for this new test;
- (c) the training of teachers in the vernacular only should be stopped and great attention given in all training colleges to the study of English so that all future teachers emerge qualified to teach English in the schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 21

We recommend that a group of teachers with knowledge of modern methods of teaching reading and with African experience should produce a set of reading books and aids adapted to individual and group work in the primary school with a view to their production cheaply and in bulk for all the African territories.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 22

We recommend that in the primary school, English should be taught mainly to produce good reading ability, but that in the middle and secondary schools an increasing attention should be given to spoken English. An oral examination in English should form part of the School Certificate examination, and the literature papers should, by reference to contemporary and dramatic literature, or in other ways, help to raise the level of spoken English.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 23

We recommend that very great stress should be laid on the teaching of English in all training colleges, both as part of the general education of the student, and also to enable him to play an important part in a language policy which gives a quite new importance and weight equally to the study of selected vernaculars and to English.

PART III

THE SCHOOLS

II. THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

132. Primary education has already been defined as the first eight years of school life with a break after the first four years. Nomenclatures at present vary from territory to territory. In Central Africa the first two years are called grades or sub-standards. It would be simpler to have a common usage throughout the territories, of Classes I, II, III, and IV, which is a clear statement of the provision of the first four years of education for children, and so on up through the following stages.

133. This primary system has roots in the past and is closely linked with the evangelistic work of the missions who provided it all in the first instance. This has affected its purpose, complicated its supervision and influenced the content of its curriculum. It has not been easy to modify or adapt this pattern to a situation in which education becomes a public social service which the people of a modern State expect from the Government they support financially. The primary or first stage of education then becomes the means whereby children are trained to live in society both as individuals and as members of a community; are encouraged to observe their own environment and to develop a curiosity leading to a desire for knowledge about the world outside; and are enabled to acquire the basic tools of learning.

134. We considered how far the European organization of primary education into two cycles of 'Infant' education and 'Junior' education could be usefully applied in Africa. There is no doubt at all that the educational value to a child of a period spent in a good infant school between the ages of four or five to seven or eight is immense. In the informal life of such a school mental and emotional development can proceed and the important activities of pre-reading and pre-number can be the best kind of preparation for the formal teaching of these skills at the later age of 7+ or 8+. Recent research has shown that in the end much time may be wasted in beginning the formal teaching of these basic skills too early. Wherever therefore the formidable difficulties in the way of establishing infant schools can be overcome we should wish to recommend that infant schools should be established. There is the obvious difficulty in a country of scattered population in bringing young children safely to school. There is the other greater difficulty of recruiting teachers with the skill and understanding of the educational needs of the child of infant-school age. If the wrong kind of methods are used at this age the results will certainly be worse than if no education at all had been given.

135. For the present only a minority of the child population are getting more than four years of the primary course, although African public opinion, territorial needs, and departmental planning are working towards the raising of that proportion as quickly as possible. This means that this four-year course has to fulfil for the time being two

important tasks. First it has to provide a course that is complete in itself, and secondly to provide a course that is a preparation for intermediate and higher education. This has been recognized and every department of education is vigorously engaged in the remaking of syllabuses. What is now most needed is that teachers should be trained to carry them into effect. It is generally agreed that children who complete the first four-year course even with few opportunities for further formal education and little or no informal follow-up do, on the whole, achieve literacy in their own vernacular and also acquire a basic conception of number.

136. Buildings and equipment in primary schools vary from territory to territory and have already been briefly described. It is clear that interesting, active, and purposeful education would not be easy under these difficult physical conditions even with experienced and well-qualified teachers. Those who teach in the first four classes of primary schools, however, have in many cases had little but a primary education themselves. With this limited background teachers cannot be expected to do more than reproduce the methods by which they themselves were taught and repeat the information learnt in the training colleges which they have copied laboriously from blackboards into their notebooks. When these notebooks are eaten by white ants, both teachers and children have to rely upon the teacher's memory. Departments of education are busy through committees of experts in preparing new syllabuses incorporating modern theory and practice, but it is the quality of the training given to the teacher that now calls for urgent consideration.

137. The standard of education from which teachers are being trained has been steadily rising throughout the East and Central African territories. The man teacher in the lowest grade in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Kenya now has had eight years of schooling before training begins. Uganda still accepts only six years. Women for many reasons have lagged behind, and often when the standard was nominally the same, soft options were allowed to them. It is an interesting commentary on the immense improvement in the general education of girls that these lower standards are disappearing. From 1951, for example, in Tanganyika all women training as teachers will have completed Standard VIII. In Nyasaland the training course for women, after six years of school life, is only being given an annual extension.

138. In some territories it has been necessary to introduce double sessions, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, so that the number of children in primary schools is increased by making fuller use of both buildings and teachers. The intentions of this are excellent, but it may only double the amount of inefficient and ineffective primary education that is being given. Small children,

themselves in an unreceptive mood, have to wait till the heat of the day before getting the services of already tired teachers. Class-rooms shared by two groups of children at best cannot reflect the activities of the children and carry the visual material appropriate to their interests. The valuable experience gained by war-time expedients in England of shared buildings and unorthodox hours has little relevance to Africa mainly because in Africa in most cases the same group of teachers has to teach both sessions. Although in Tanganyika especially, attempts have been made to bring the morning and afternoon classes together in the middle of the day for joint practical activities, the working day is still long and exhausting for a teacher whose ability is limited. Children whose normal four-year course has been crowded into half the time, where double sessions are in operation for all four standards, or into three years where double sessions affect the first two standards only, have but a slender hold on their basic skills. This is apparent among those who go on to intermediate or middle schools, for they have to strain and cram to cover the set syllabuses and prepare for the examination that is going to determine the chosen few who go on to a secondary school. It is not only the overloaded academic curriculum that is responsible for the desperate efforts the children have to make but the fact that foundations have had to be hurriedly and sketchily laid. The dilemma for planners in this, as in other problems, is to choose between quality and quantity. The pressure of demand may prevent numerical restriction on entry, but where double sessions are accepted as an integral part of expansion, it should be clear that it is an expedient only. We suggest, therefore, that wherever double sessions in the primary school are now accepted, as soon as sufficient teachers and accommodation can be provided, this unsound educational expedient should be discarded. We know that our views in this respect are shared by all those working in the field.

139. Mention has already been made of the wide age-range in primary school classes. Some territories have introduced age-limits from the lowest standards. This is bringing educational rewards because methods of teaching can be more effective when they are closely associated with the age and interests of the children. Already where it is working, children are passing more quickly through the standards and in many cases do not often have to repeat a year. This raises the whole issue of how children move through the first four standards. Investigation has revealed a complicated system of annual tests and examinations, on which promotions depend. This system does not make the best use of either teachers or teaching. The ability and potentiality of the youngest age-groups cannot and should not be assessed quantitatively and it should be possible on the class teacher's recommendation for all children to have a clear run through the first four years. There will, of course, be the occasional exception due to illness, absence, or mental retardation, but for the majority of children the first stage of school life at least should not be examination-ridden.

140. In no territory, with the possible exception of Zanzibar, has it been financially possible for the equipment of primary schools to be in any way adequate by modern standards, and the poverty of equipment in this phase of education often leads to dullness and lack of interest and explains in part the unawareness of children of the world

around them. It is a penny wise and pound foolish policy to train teachers expensively and then to deny them the tools to do their work. 'Readers' should be bought in sets of six or eight, instead of for the whole class. This will give variety, make possible graded progress, enlarge the children's vocabulary, stimulate their interest, and permit of group or individual as opposed to class work. There should be materials for children's work in greater quantity and variety. Teachers should be encouraged to make ingenious and imaginative use of local and waste materials—clays, gum and paste, paint brushes, and all odd scraps of paper. This is increasingly being done, but needs greater and more widespread stimulus. Primary school buildings are often dark and cramped when they should be light and spacious. We saw in Tanganyika primary school buildings that were light and because of this money had actually been saved; they were spacious too, and space is one of the commodities of which Africa has an abundance. Often the floors of the primary school are of earth when there is an abundance of local materials which could be woven into simple and colourful mats. Often there are fixed brick benches or raised mounds of earth. These permanent structures prevent movement and so any use of the class-room for active methods of learning or group work. In some territories, under the impression that progress was being made, heavy two-seater desks with sloping tops were in daily production for the primary schools. These, besides being expensive, also make modern methods of learning impossible. In contrast to this we saw here and there, and particularly in Northern Rhodesia, admirable examples of light individual tables and stools, often constructed from cheap local materials, and where these were in use the whole look and spirit of primary school teaching showed signs of improvement. Slates are generally being given up in primary schools, but a great many are still in use. They are a doubtful economy. A child using a slate can keep no permanent record of his work, nor take it away to ponder and learn. This means that the whole process of learning to read and write is greatly slowed down and the time of expensive teachers is wasted. Slate has to be imported, is expensive, and has not a long life. The pride in writing which a child gets when he constructs his own book of pictures and sentences is not aroused if he is never given paper or pencil. We found that children sometimes bought their own pencils and exercise books, but some teachers, badly instructed in their training colleges, even discouraged such sensible independence.

141. There are certain common factors which affect children and their ability to take advantage of formal schooling. Some have already been referred to. They include the varying distances the children have to walk to school, the difficulties of the journey—wild animals, water crossings, bush paths, and road hazards caused by weather. Where an older child leaves school or is forced to leave by failing to get promoted or because he or she is over age, younger children can no longer come unescorted and so their education either ceases or is broken until they are old enough to come alone. Then there are the seasonal demands of planting and harvesting, of herding cattle, or animal and bird scaring which break up regular attendance. In many areas there are the hunger months when children either cannot come to school because they are too weak, or are hunting for food, or come too debilitated

to learn. Then there are the home duties night and morning which tire children before they get to school. Girls suffer particularly here in the share they take from early childhood in household responsibilities. Absence for any of the causes already mentioned means that a child can no longer follow the work with his standard; he either loses heart and leaves school or fails to get promoted and gets turned out. All these make class teaching particularly difficult and point to the need for group work and for opportunities for children to work at their own speed. There is a general recognition that children need the best teachers in the earliest stage. Northern Rhodesia is insisting that headmasters teach in the lowest classes. We suggest, therefore, that administrative arrangements should allow of the inclusion amongst primary school teachers of some teachers with a high grade of training, and also of some Europeans, even if these are engaged for part-time in teaching in a primary school and part-time in a training college.

142. There is now a small stabilized urban population in the towns of almost every territory. Experience in crowded industrial areas in other countries shows how necessary it is to tackle education there with resolution and imagination. The environment of the children provides opportunities for a different approach to the basic skills. Craft teaching will demand tools and may be less able to call on accessible local materials. Allotment gardening will have to replace agriculture and the provision of informal education through clubs and play centres will be a necessary corollary to school work. The Belgians are doing interesting work in this field in their urban areas in the Congo. We also saw some of the excellent pioneer schemes which are being tried in British territories on the lines which we describe, and these should be given every positive, active, and intelligent assistance.

143. The teachers' training colleges almost invariably send their students out with some home-made basic equipment for teaching reading and number. There is at present too little variety among the work of students from the same college and often there is not enough equipment for all the children in a class. Teachers too often either use the equipment for class as opposed to individual or group work or leave it unused. We saw some notable exceptions to this where in the lower classes individual work went on with apparatus often made from prolific local materials, but particularly in schools away from adequate and regular professional supervision, the basic skills are drilled into the children by parrot repetition and ill-understood questions and answers. The standard of writing is often remarkably good—a great achievement when it is too often learnt on a broken piece of slate clutched in the crook of one arm with a minute piece of slate pencil in the other hand. Wherever we met teachers who encouraged original composition, results showed that African children, like children everywhere, have sensitivity and imagination, and graphic powers of description. Their response to the more active and interesting approach that starts from something they can see or hear or know about was galvanizing.

144. The modern approach to reading is through whole words and sentences, with stress on meaning. The two important principles in the teaching of reading are: first, that the direct link between words and meaning should be rigorously preserved, and the second that as far as possible,

by the use of prepared materials, the child should be enabled to work independently and at his own rate in a situation most likely to yield success. Reading aloud can easily be overdone since speed in reading is greatly slowed up if children have first to translate word-patterns into sound and then sound into meaning. A further loss occurs if a whole class has to mark time whilst a backward reader is reading aloud very slowly. Everything that happens in school should be drawn upon for the teaching of reading and writing. All kinds of objects in the class-room and garden should be plainly labelled; the teacher should invent reading and writing games and get the children to prepare the material for these so that by matching pictures and sentences, or the completion of jigsaw puzzles, children learn to read by play methods. In the early stages great progress in learning to read is made if the words learnt are those in which the child is interested, and this happens when children are invited to draw objects and scenes and then to write first words and then sentences which describe their own pictures. An exercise book headed 'My Own Book' can be used with the child's drawings on one page and his own or the teacher's words and sentences on the opposite page. The experimental work for this will be done in the training colleges and demonstration schools.

145. For number, the Beacon arithmetic series, for example, could with advantage be used in African primary schools. Number should be understood by concrete situations and the teacher should make such things as paper money and model weights and should combine arithmetic with drama in the setting up of a model store or market, where bottles and tins of simple objects which can easily be counted, provide the means through which children can exercise all the simple arithmetical operations in buying and selling, weighing and measuring.

146. There is always the danger that some subjects taught are unreal, because they not only are outside the child's experience and unassociated with his environment but beyond the capacity and experience of the teacher too. In geography we were delighted to see a growing and effective use in some territories of relief maps built by the children in the school compounds and also a sensible and practical knowledge of local geography. Occasionally, children are taken out on local field work and we should like to see this practice greatly extended.

147. Craft work is included in the curriculum of most schools, but we noticed a lack of enthusiasm where children used techniques and material generally already familiar in their home. Simple needlework is popular especially with the older girls who start their schooling late, and boys often produce articles of beauty and use. The training colleges need to introduce teachers to the use of new materials and new techniques.

148. Physical education, including local dancing for girls and games for boys, and occasionally for girls too, is full of vitality in many schools. It may well be asked if physical education is necessary in country schools where children often walk many miles to and from school. In any case the European pattern may be most inappropriate, particularly for girls. Their everyday pursuits of pounding and carrying involve physical stresses and strains for which English physical education may be positively harmful. This is a subject for research and has been recognized as such by the Senior Women Education Officers in East and

Central African Territories for some years. Tanganyika hopes in 1952 to get an expert to investigate in this field and the results will undoubtedly be of wide value. Shortage of staff has made it difficult to spare posts for specialist Physical Education Officers. All territories recognize the important part physical education plays in general education and are making strenuous efforts to improve the professional standard of work being done and to bring it into line with current developments. It is increasingly realized that the 1933 English syllabus is unsuitable because the general trained teacher, as opposed to the specialist, knows too little either to modify it or to abandon it. Attempts are increasingly made to loosen up organization, to break away from the barrack-square technique (this is difficult because it is very popular with teachers and children), and to introduce indigenous dancing and games as integral parts of the programme, rather than excrescences. One territory has a full-time organizer and she is a woman. It is important that specialists in physical education should influence the training of teachers. The general trained teacher can imitate and get students and children to imitate, but rarely understands the underlying purpose of the activities, and so has not enough knowledge to see where the activities need coaching and correcting. Much greater use needs to be made of simple apparatus and materials, for these are often at hand. In this connexion the recent production by the Ling Society of a book called *On the Use of Small Apparatus in Physical Education* will greatly help African teachers. Three types of group activity could replace much formal class teaching. These are.

- (a) *Group games.* All kinds of games with simple equipment could be played, particularly with skipping-ropes (there is an abundance of material for making skipping-ropes in Africa), hoops, bats, and balls.
- (b) *Balancing and climbing exercises.* In most school playgrounds ropes could be suspended from the branches of trees, large rope nets arranged for climbing and swinging, and simple erections of the jungle-gym type made for balancing and climbing. In this group of exercises running and jumping would also be included.
- (c) *Dancing or any kind of activity* in which music and movement are combined. Where African dances have been forgotten, European dances might be taught, but African teachers are ingenious in inventing simple combinations of music and movement of an attractive kind.

Great progress in this direction has been made in the physical education work at Kagumo Training College in Kenya and its influence should soon be felt in the schools. The pamphlet *Moving and Growing. Physical Education in the Primary School, Part I*, published by H.M. Stationery Office, contains many useful suggestions which could be adapted for use in Africa.

149. Social studies should be regarded, as they sometimes are, as a combination of geography, health, citizenship, and art, and the visual element should be emphasized both in class illustration and children's expression work. Wherever materials are available (when, for example, homes are being studied), children should be encouraged to draw or paint imaginative compositions which represent their ideas of the home, the village, the market, &c. The value of this

purely expressive and communicative work in the development of the child is very great. Illustrative work of the more formal kind is valuable but does not realize individual creative and imaginative gifts, such as is done by drawings and paintings of the free composition type. The booklet *Materials* by K. M. Trowell of Makerere (Longmans, Green & Co.) like the booklet on Reading should be in the hands of every primary school teacher.

150. Whilst a child is learning the skills of reading and writing, and until he has become proficient in these, he is learning mainly through the eyes. What he sees on the class-room walls affects his education very greatly, and the very best possible use should be made of every square inch of wall space. Often the exhibition on the wall of examples of the work of the best children encourages others to come up to their standard, and there is also a great deal of material which can usefully be collected by the teacher, as well as other members of the class, for such visual teaching. In particular every primary school classroom in rural areas should have four or five large posters teaching the main simple lessons in the use of soil and production of food. Wall newspapers, weather charts, and nature records are increasingly being used and should be found in all schools.

151. The active approach to education among young children, which makes an irresistible appeal to their curiosity, powers of observation, enjoyment of personal discovery, and individual effort, demands a degree of understanding of the principles underlying education and child-development that is at present beyond the capacity of most primary school teachers. Any general change from passive to active education must take place slowly and only as competent teachers are produced by training colleges with demonstration schools in which such methods can be successfully practised. Nevertheless a movement from passive to active education could be begun in a few demonstration schools, and it may be useful to sketch one or two possible ways of initiating such a movement. Of the work of the four classes of the primary school, that done in Class I is most important, since it is clear that a large cause of wastage is the child's lack of desire to pursue his education and that his attitude towards schooling is very largely determined in Class I. If the work in this class were based on the psychological needs of the child at this stage and above all on his need for activity and the acquisition of knowledge from concrete situations rather than verbal teaching, it is likely that this particular cause of wastage would be eliminated. A start should be made in Class I and the work of this class thoroughly transformed before the same method is applied successively to Classes II, III, and IV. Class I is in every way best suited as the place in which to begin this change, since it is now realized that before the teaching of reading, writing, or arithmetic is begun, a period of informal introduction to these skills, called a pre-reading period and so on, is most desirable. The child's introduction to school life should be by way of informality and play and then move increasingly towards formality and work. The first step to be taken is to arrange for longer periods of work than in the present time-table, which breaks up the activity of the child into small special periods. In such a time-table there would be no need to introduce the usual period of 15 or 20 minutes' break in the middle of the morning, since experience in Europe

shows that the distinction between work and play is broken down in this kind of work, and even if such an interval is provided children merely continue with the activities on which they are engaged. If the worst educational situation is provisionally accepted, i.e. where double sessions are used, then the time available for Class I may be no more than that between 8 a.m. and 12.15 p.m. This could be subdivided as follows

8 a.m.	Assembly and Health Parade.
8.15 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.	Basic Tool subjects in groups
9.45 a.m. to 11.15 a.m.	Environmental studies in groups.
11.15 a.m. to 11.45 a.m.	Religious Knowledge
11.45 a.m. to 12.15 p.m.	Music and Movement in groups.

For children of Class I age, the normal size of class of 30 to 50 is much too large a group for successful learning. The child at this age learns best in a small group of between 6 and 10. In the scheme set out, therefore, it is proposed that the class should always be subdivided into 4 groups of 7 or 8 children who will work physically as a group in some special area of the class-room, where perhaps four light tables have been put together to form a work table, surrounded by stools, with the children facing each other looking inwards. This alters the whole aspect of the class-room so that instead of the class all looking towards the teacher and waiting for stimulus from him, they engage in their group activities and the teacher wanders from group to group. Within the group, individual children work at their own pace, although often two or three will combine to do a particular piece of work. This natural interplay of individual and group work is the ideal method of learning at this stage.

(a) *Basic Tool Subjects* The class should be divided into a reading group, a number group, an art group, and a hand-work group. The reading group should begin to learn to read using the child's 'Own Book of Pictures and Sentences', and steadily move forward from single words or little groups of words into continuous narrative about the pictures drawn. After this, each child should move on to a graded series of illustrated readers of the 'Beacon' type, of which only six or seven copies are needed for the whole class. The second group should be a number group in which children would either learn the fundamental number operations by means of cards, or play in the model shop with paper money, model weights and bottles, objects, or lengths of material to be measured. The art group should at this stage be engaged in drawing or painting of the imaginative free composition type. The hand-work group could begin with the simplest kind of hand-work such as plaited grass mats, but work with clay should be possible in nearly every part of East and Central Africa.

(b) *Environmental Studies.* This work should be centred around a nature table which should have a fixed position in the class-room and to which children should bring all kinds of objects from outside the class-room to form the beginning of written work and discussion on topics which are usually included under the headings of 'Nature Study', 'Geography', 'History', 'Agriculture', 'Civics', and 'Health'. The labelling of these objects and the keeping of simple records will link up this work on the study of environment with the basic tool studies.

(c) *Religious Knowledge.* The time-table in its most meagre form does not allow for a separate period in which poetry, stories, drama, and singing can be dealt with as

part of the language training of the school, but these are such admirable methods by which religious knowledge can be passed on to the child at this stage that their use in this connexion would be both educationally valuable in itself and lift the religious knowledge period out of its present rut of dullness.

(d) *Music and Movement.* There should be no class teaching, but where possible instead the work should be done in four groups: the first group engaged in dancing; the second in some type of team or individual games with small apparatus; the third a group engaged in balancing and climbing activities with ropes and jungle-gyms; and the fourth an athletic group engaged in jumping, running, or throwing activities.

152. Another method of introducing activity methods is to apply them first through projects. The excellent work done in the Sudan by V. L. Griffiths at Bakht-er-Ruda Training College will be of great help in training teachers to understand and to introduce such methods. It was decided that changes along these lines must in the first stages be confined in subject and controlled in development, since inefficient and ill-informed teachers experimenting with activity would do more harm than good. At Bakht-er-Ruda, therefore, practical projects were worked out on a regional basis both with students and with experienced teachers in schools near enough to serve as educational laboratories. In certain areas of Africa children's work could be used to interpret their environment not only to themselves but to their parents and the people of the locality. In Zanzibar, for example, rural schools such as Makunduchi could work out studies in connexion with fishing and the coconut that could be the starting-point for adult education. Similarly schools in coffee, tea, cotton, tung, or sisal areas could use their practical records and exhibitions in connexion with community development projects sponsored by the agricultural, co-operative, and other specialist departments. This would not only be an added incentive to the children but it would be one of the ways in which the school would become an educational centre for the community.

153. The introduction of activity methods must be begun at the training college level because their use demands not only a knowledge of special teaching techniques but also a fresh insight into child-nature. Activity methods used by half-trained or semi-convicted teachers can quickly lead to chaos and disillusionment. Any territory wishing to introduce such methods would need to proceed by a series of carefully planned steps. The first step to be taken is to demonstrate the methods in action at a training college demonstration school by a small team of teachers who have practised such methods successfully. In some territories it might be possible to collect such a team from individuals at present working in scattered centres. In other territories it would be necessary to bring out from England a group of two or three teachers on a four months' visit to a particular college. The first month should be spent in absorbing something of the African background and in preparing, with the help of students, the many practical teaching aids needed for a three-months' demonstration period. After the demonstration period the work should be continued by the staff of the training college and demonstration school in co-operation. Then at the end of the college year some of the most gifted student teachers of the year should be

chosen to go out to begin teaching in the new way. Not less than two students should be chosen to begin work in two classes of a primary school selected for its suitability for experiment, and if possible a group of three should be sent so as to give the weight and mutual help needed for an experiment of this kind. These first few 'activity' schools

should be visited and 'nursed' through their early life by the staff of the training college until a little circle of such schools existed and so, slowly, by example and practice the method would spread as teachers were found capable of using it with success.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 11

RECOMMENDATION NO. 24

We recommend that the first stage of primary education should be considered as covering the first four years of school life and these years of study should be called Classes I, II, III, and IV.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 25

We recommend that as soon as any area is able to provide teachers and simple accommodation, the expedient of double sessions should be discarded.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 26

We recommend that administrative arrangements should allow of the inclusion amongst primary school teachers of

some teachers with a high grade of training, and also of some Europeans, even if these are engaged for part-time in teaching in a primary school and part-time in a training college.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 27

We recommend that careful steps should be taken to introduce gradually into the schools modern activity methods of learning to replace passive class-teaching methods. If necessary, a small team of teachers experienced in such methods should be brought out to a selected training college to give a short demonstration of such methods and this demonstration should be followed by the slow and controlled extension of such methods from a single demonstration school to other schools.

12. THE MIDDLE SCHOOL

154. Until it has been possible to provide universal education in Africa there must be some selection of those who proceed to its later stages. The products of this selection will necessarily form an *élite* in the community, and if this is frankly faced it follows that two questions are of great importance:

- (a) is the selection of the *élite* the best possible, since if it is not, an expensive education will be given to the less able? and
- (b) what is the function of the *élite* in the community?

Question (b) must be answered before the answer to (a) can be given. Following a first period of four years, a second cycle of four years of study should be provided which meets the needs of four groups who will proceed either (i) to further technical training or teacher training, or (ii) to a third cycle of four years' studies, or (iii) to positions in craft or agriculture or practical work requiring initiative and a sense of responsibility, or (iv) to positions in Government departments or commercial undertakings requiring a good education but the kind of work that will be done at present under European supervision. The needs of these groups can, with careful and elastic planning, be met in a school of the type at present called an intermediate or middle school.

155. At present the general age at which selection is made for middle schools is higher than the corresponding age of selection in England for different varieties of secondary school. Even so it is too low for a highly reliable selection. This age will gradually fall from its present figure of about thirteen years to about ten years, and it is to be hoped that as it falls the proportion of children going on to the second four years of education will steadily

increase until selection at this stage disappears. Selection for the third phase of education, at fourteen, will remain, as in Europe, until African economy approaches the prosperity of America, but in the end the organization of education into three four-year phases will leave Africa with selection at 13+ instead of 11+ as in England, and so Africa will profit from the knowledge of the difficulties experienced in England with very early selection. Whilst resources are limited the earlier selection will be necessary, but only as a temporary and wasting expedient.

156. Selection for middle schools where they exist is generally under the direction of Provincial Education Officers and is conducted province by province. In order not to distort the curriculum of the primary school, the selective examination should be as slight as is consistent with its purpose and designed not to test the efficiency of primary school education but potential ability for middle school education. European experience suggests that it should be limited to an Intelligence Test, a test in arithmetic and a test of comprehension and powers of expression in English (where this is taught in the primary school) or in the vernacular (until English is taught in the primary school). Tanganyika has found it practicable to add to the evidence of a written examination the evidence of an interview. Each of these elements in the selection procedure needs to be considered separately.

157. The use of Intelligence Tests for selection in Africa is attended with special difficulties, but these may be resolved shortly. An Intelligence Test suited to selection is under construction at the Institute of Education, Makerere College, Uganda, and as this has been standardized in Africa and designed for selection, as soon as it is published it should be widely used. Intelligence Tests published by

the University of London Press are used in Zanzibar for selection and, within the limits of their experience, give useful prediction of success. In the meantime, the best tests to use are the abstract form and space tests published by Moray House, Glasgow.

158. An English Test or a Vernacular Language Test should consist of two parts:

- (i) a fairly difficult passage of prose to be read followed by comprehension questions which test the intelligent understanding of language;
- (ii) a composition section which gives a pupil a chance to show his powers of written expression as well as of disciplined imagination. An English test should certainly *not* include grammar or literature questions

159. An arithmetic paper should consist of a series of questions of increasing difficulty to be done within a time-limit so that speed as well as accuracy of working reflect arithmetical ability

160. Character and industry will be as productive of success in the middle school as mental ability, and this factor should be assessed if possible. Tanganyika has devised a scheme in this connexion which works very well. A Provincial Education Officer and Head of a Middle School or Mission Educational Secretary visit the primary schools feeding a middle school and assess, in consultation with the headmaster, the personality of the child, and this assessment is given considerable weight, particularly within the group of pupils whose examination scores bring them into a borderline group.

161. The curriculum of the middle school will only be successfully planned when children come up from the primary school having had three years of English teaching. In territories where this is not provided, English must be given priority in Class I so that by Class II it can become the medium of instruction in most subjects. This is necessary now because most middle schools draw their pupils from several vernacular areas. English must be given great importance in the curriculum. Poor English is a large cause of backwardness in the secondary school and is an important subject for the stream who will go on to this stage of education. It is necessary for all those who will be co-operating in their work with Europeans. It is the means by which technical information may be gained by those who are to follow practical pursuits. Much time and care must therefore be given to the teaching of English throughout the middle school.

162. The basis of the curriculum in the middle school should be a carefully integrated scheme of practical and theoretical work so devised that theoretical work rises always from practical and concrete beginnings. Unless this integration is firm two results will follow, both bad: the practical work will degenerate into drudgery or the mechanical completion of manual tasks of little educational value; and the theoretical work will fall below the standards which should be required of work done in a school intended for the best 25 per cent. of primary school leavers.

163. It is not desirable that there should be two streams of study in the middle school, an academic stream and a technical stream. Academic standards are not lowered because topics of study have a realistic basis. It is important that those who go on to the secondary school and more academic studies should be aware of the paramount impor-

tance of agriculture and of the dignity of manual tasks. Nevertheless a time-table should not be drawn up on such rigid lines that it is impossible to give 4 or 5 periods a week out of a total of 34 to more academic studies for some pupils whilst the more practical-minded devote them to additional practical work.

164. Middle schools should provide one or more of four basic integrated courses. These are:

- (i) agriculture and animal husbandry, associated with its theoretical work in biology;
- (ii) building and machine construction, associated with its theoretical work in mathematics;
- (iii) commercial studies, associated with both language and mathematics; and
- (iv) household arts for girls.

The third of these courses would only need to be provided in special areas where commercial development calls for a supply of educated boys and girls with commercial skills. The working out in complete detail of the integration between agriculture and biology, or building and machine construction and mathematics, would take much more time than is available for the production of this report, but an indication of the type of parallel development of practical and theoretical work is given below.

165. An integrated course of Agriculture and Biology would include.

<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Biology</i>
1. Water-supply and the provision of water.	1. Rainfall records—mapping of springs, rivers, water flow—map reading with contours.
2. Contour ridging and terracing.	2. Relation of vegetation to contours.
3. Irrigation.	3. Solubility, filtration, evaporation.
4. Soil preparation.	4. Soil chemistry—acids and alkalis.
5. Composting and fertilizers.	5. Bacteria, fermentation, chemistry of fertilizers.
6. The seasons in agriculture.	6. Keeping of seasonal biological records.
7. Plant cultivation.	7. Feeding and respiration in plants. Gases—nitrogen, oxygen, CO ₂ , and carbon.
8. Insect pests.	8. Life-cycles of insects.
9. Fruit cultivation.	9. Responses to gravity, light, and water.
10. Birds and cultivation.	10. Reproduction in mammals.
11. Trees and forestry.	11. Seeds, roots, leaves, flowers, fruit, pollination, &c.
12. Domestic animals.	12. Feeding, digestion, and reproduction. Animal diseases.

166. An integrated course in Building and Machine Construction and Mathematics would include:

<i>Building and Machine Construction</i>	<i>Mathematics</i>
1. Raw materials of building.	1. Weights and measures of all kinds.
2. Utilization of land.	2. Areas, scale drawing.

*Building and Machine Construction**Mathematics*

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| 3. Surveying for building. | 3. Angles, triangles, and other geometrical drawing. |
| 4. Protection against heat and rainfall. | 4. Graphical records of temperature, &c. |
| 5. Ventilation. | 5. Conduction, convection, and radiation formulae. |
| 6. Roof construction. | 6. Ideas of stress and force and diagrammatic representation of triangles and parallelograms of force. |
| 7. Lighting. | 7. Pressure lamp and valves. Simple mathematics of electricity. |
| 8. Movement of materials. | 8. Lever, pulley, wheel, inclined plane, friction. |
| 9. Decoration. | 9. Areas and volumes of paint, &c. Simple proportion. |
| 10. Provision of water-supply. | 10. The ram and the pump. Pressure. |
| 11. Diesel and petrol engines. | 11. Force, pressure, work, and horse-power. |
| 12. Costing. | 12. Decimals, percentages, profit and loss. |

A book such as *Discovering Mechanics* by Stowe, Viccars, and Morley (Longmans, price 5s. 6d.) would be a useful introductory text for this work.

167. The education to be given in the middle school should be general and not vocational, so the scientific or technical basic integrated courses would need to be balanced by a humanistic course, also an integrated course, which should be called Social Studies. In place of the often artificial subject teaching of history, geography, and civics, the teaching of current affairs could act as a starting-point of all these studies. In this work the starting-point should as soon as possible be the study of newspapers in English and the vernacular, since the critical study of journalistic literature is in any case an important part of a democratic education, and in addition it is probably in this form that literacy will be mainly continued after a child has left school. In selecting subjects for study week by week, the teacher should be required in the course of a year to give a fair balance to topics which fall under the following headings:

- (i) Local Affairs; (ii) Territorial Affairs, (iii) African Affairs; (iv) British Commonwealth Affairs, (v) World Affairs.

The method to be followed ideally, if enough newspapers could be provided, would be for each pupil to keep a notebook divided into the five sections given above and to paste in cuttings from papers under the headings on one page, and on the opposite page to put his own critical comments or a summary of a class or group discussion. At the end of each term the material thus collected should be summarized in a more connected form under the separate headings of History, Geography, and Civics, with a final summary in this form at the end of the year. Such a method would encourage pupils to think for themselves and to seek for information, instead of waiting to be fed (even forcibly fed), and to learn how to organize knowledge into connected wholes. The whole work would be related to reality and

the pace adjusted to the natural pace of the individuals since there would be no attempt on the part of the teacher to cover a prescribed period or region or section of a text-book. If newspapers were not numerous, work under the five headings given could be 'farmed out' to five small groups, each of which should compile its group notebook, and then group reports to the whole class could be added together to give to all the members of the class the total results of group research. The use of wall newspapers, time-charts, maps, and diagrams should be used to link together what might otherwise be a disconnected series of topics. A method of teaching very well suited to this kind of work and to this age of child is the project method, by which an individual or a group engage in some piece of field study which they subsequently record in an exercise book in a written and diagrammatic form. A scheme of projects, perhaps one per term, to be followed throughout the course should be drawn up on the following lines:

- (i) Village Improvement and Village Life.
- (ii) A project based on the study of the Local Court and the administration of Justice.
- (iii) A project on the work of a Co-operative Society or some other form of economic organization
- (iv) A project on population changes.
- (v) A project on the development of a particular natural resource.

168. In addition to these basic integrated courses, the following subjects should be studied.

(i) *Design and Handwork*. This work will be of two types, free design applied in a decorative way to various materials, and formal design work of a geometrical or architectural character.

(ii) *English*. This is of special importance for reasons already given, and the methods of teaching it at this stage need to be carefully considered. The aim here should not be so much verbal skill as speed in silent reading. The teaching should move forward quickly therefore to the use of many English Readers of the Rapid Reader type which consist of short stories full of action in which the reader is impelled by the force of the plot to move on quickly from page to page and in which he is all the time trying to beat his previous speed of silent reading. Grammar and formal exercises like précis-writing should be omitted altogether. As soon as possible the use of a class reader should be dropped in place of the use of the class-room library of numerous short books. The main aim of rapid silent reading should not rule out the use of drama and other oral work in the improvement of English, but this should be regarded more as part of extra-curricular activity. An essential part of the middle school equipment should be the well-stocked library of English books which include a large number of simple technical or quasi-technical books and pamphlets. In the wise use of these libraries practical and academic work can be linked; children will learn to use books for reference in seeking for technical information and thus the incentives for learning to read will be fully used for purposeful ends.

(iii) *Physical Education*. Children of this age should be provided, as part of their extra-curricular activities, with facilities for games and athletic activities. In the design and hand-work period ropes and rope nets could be made, together with other simple gymnastic equipment.

169. The siting of a middle school is of great importance since adequate land is necessary, but not so much as will lead to the drudgery of over-much manual labour.

170. In Tanganyika a great deal of careful thought has been given to the curriculum and time-table of the middle school. All the suggestions in this chapter were thought out in consultation with officials and teachers in that territory. The integrated curriculum already described will take time to establish. In the meantime Tanganyika has a number of excellent new middle schools in being, and as these are mainly boarding schools, the opportunity is being taken to experiment with different types of time-table.

171. The new middle school curriculum will require for its success teachers who have been specially trained to teach it. Until the training colleges can organize their programmes so as to produce this type of teacher it will be desirable at first to introduce this integrated curriculum

only into the two or three middle schools which at present have European heads, with experience of this type of work in Europe, and who can educate their staff in its techniques. It is desirable that such schools should be near to training colleges so that they can act as demonstrations of the new methods to teachers in training, and also because there may be lecturers in the colleges who can give valuable help and guidance to the work in the school. Whilst a few schools are pioneering the new integrated curriculum, an interim curriculum on the old subject basis will need to be prescribed for the other schools and to be followed until the staff of a particular school can study at first-hand the new curriculum in operation at one of the demonstration schools. After a period of three years' trial it should be possible for the new curriculum to spread quickly over the whole system.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 12

RECOMMENDATION NO. 28

We recommend that selection for middle schools should follow the general principles found valid in England for selection for secondary schools, and not make use of the results of a subject examination at the end of the primary school course

RECOMMENDATION NO. 29

We recommend that the basis of the curriculum in the middle school should be a carefully integrated scheme of practical and theoretical work so devised that the academic work rises always from practical and concrete beginnings.

13. THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

172. The senior secondary school curriculum is largely determined by the desire of all pupils to pass the School Certificate examination, which gives them the qualification to enter a university or to undertake a teacher-training course of senior grade. At present the only examination taken is that provided by the Cambridge Examining Body. The examination has been adopted to the needs of African pupils in many ways, but it is doubtful whether its influence on the curriculum of the African secondary school is now wholly good. This examination must now be held in December, and many teachers expressed the view to us that this is not the most suitable period of the school year for African schools. The London Examining Board offers to overseas students the alternatives of examination in November and May and the examination in May would seem to be the most suitable time. The greater elasticity of the new General Certificate in Education would also seem to be much more suited to African needs than the rigid group system of the Cambridge examination. In particular, papers in such practical subjects as agriculture and domestic science can be taken in the new General Certificate. It is true that special papers on an accepted syllabus can be set by the Cambridge Board, but these are expensive. The normal syllabuses of study in biology, history, and geography have been criticized by many teachers in African secondary schools and are due for re-examination. The mathematics papers of the Cambridge examination are still impregnated with an English background and include even problems on 'men and bath taps' or 'trains and tunnels'; its English papers are heavy with grammar and nineteenth-century literature; whilst other subjects have

only been partially adapted from the normal syllabus of an English school instead of being thought out wholly with the needs of Africa in mind.

173. A few comments on the content of some of the subjects of the senior secondary school curricula will show some of the improvements that might now be made, and it is to be hoped, soon reflected in the papers of the School Certificate Examination.

(i) *English*. The written examination has led to the relative neglect of spoken English in the secondary school. There is generally too much oral English in the earlier classes and too little as the time for examination preparation approaches. It is in the secondary school that most attention to oral English should be given, for its pupils will need to use it much as a spoken language, whereas those who leave earlier will need it less. Dramatic work is the best way of improving spoken English, but the fear of waste of examination time often prevents its development in the schools. Examination questions which test an active knowledge of dramatic literature would help here. Too much grammar is still included in the content, perhaps because it is easy to examine. Reading, being related to 'Readers' rather than to 'Library Periods', is too narrow in scope and too related to the reading interests of the English rather than the African schoolchild. Précis-writing is still included, although its influence is almost certainly harmful and there is far too little emphasis on creative writing of prose or poetry.

(ii) *Geography*. Geography is taught mainly as regional geography with a separate section on human geography. A better method would be to use the human approach to

geographical studies throughout and to base the syllabus on the 'concentric' division of material so that each year of the four-year course includes a study of

- (i) The Home Region;
- (ii) The Territory;
- (iii) East Africa;
- (iv) Africa and World Contacts.

Often the approach is from the general to the particular and the syllabus begins with Physical Geography and ends with Local Geography. A scheme which might be followed over four years is suggested below.

	<i>First year</i>	<i>Second year</i>	<i>Third year</i>	<i>Fourth year</i>
1. Home Region	Climate and Topography Uganda	Natural Resources Kenya	Communications The Rhodesias	Occupations and Trade Nyasaland and other Territories
2. Territory				
3. East Africa				
4. Africa	North	South	East	West
5. World	Asia	Europe	Americas	World Problems

(iii) *History.* The History syllabus is perhaps the most in need of revision. The principles on which it should be based have not been thought out by those who set examination papers and a philosophy of history for Africans is badly needed. The African schoolchild too often learns and regurgitates a miscellany of historical facts that darken his understanding. There are two general principles that should be applied to the selection of historical material for Africans and then this selection should be taught in different ways in the three schools—primary, middle, and secondary. The first principle and the one to be given greatest weight is that in the present period of transition the African needs to grasp the essence of European historical values in the same way as Europeans for generations absorbed classical historical values. Only if the leaders of African life have succeeded in being inspired by European cultural values will they be able to adapt these to African needs and be saved either a slavish imitation of European civilization or an unbalanced reaction against it. Because the approach of Africans to most questions is personal, the method of teaching history should be largely biographical and the content much more social than political or military. The second essential is that Africans should know sufficient of the recent history of Africa to understand and develop their own economic, political, social, and constitutional life. These two kinds of history could be studied simultaneously throughout the four years of the secondary school. The starting-point of contemporary African history could be the newspaper or current news or visits to departmental offices or a court or a *baraza* and then the origins of these activities traced backwards in time. The human approach to European history would give it a reality which is at present so largely lacking from historical events and scenes that are remote from the understanding of a pupil whose horizon is necessarily very limited.

(iv) *General Science.* The effect of the examination is to turn Science into a departmentalized series of disciplines unrelated to the major agricultural needs of Africa. Physics, Chemistry, and Biology are taken as suitable

divisions of scientific studies, instead of Soil, Plant Life, and Animal Life, which might be taken as starting-points for the study of general Chemistry, Physics, and Biology.

174. In the majority of secondary schools, as in Europe, the class is still treated as the chief unit of learning and, for the most part 'lock-step' methods of teaching are used regardless of individual variation of ability. Individual methods using work-books or written assignments following the Dalton method (or some modification of it) are insufficiently used. Even in mathematics or science, where some pupils can work four or five times as fast as others, the lack of individual methods ties the best to the pace of

the mediocre. Work in small groups on projects or sub-projects is also very rarely met. In Somaliland, where there has been a break away from rigid class teaching, especially in the group methods of teaching English, it has been very successful. The development of active and practical interests by field work, the preparation of charts and posters, experiments, visits, laboratory and workshop work, and other kinds of active learning are all found in many schools where gifted teachers are at work, but the present examination system does not encourage them. Handicrafts, art, and music are sometimes sacrificed because of the demands of examination subjects, but a number of schools have developed 'hobby' periods which do much to offset the neglect of the aesthetic and emotional aspects of development. In this respect girls' schools are generally less academic than boys' schools, although in a great many of these excellent work is being done.

175. It is in the secondary schools that the future leaders of a territory will be nurtured, and it is of paramount importance, therefore, that everything should be done to foster self-respect, individuality, initiative, and a sense of responsibility. The organization of the school on a house basis and the development of the prefect system in nearly all schools do much to further these aims. On the material side of the life of a school, however, opportunities are sometimes lost of making practical arrangements which will foster individuality. Dormitories, which after all are the only places where a pupil can make a small space expressive of his private life (since common rooms or studies are rare), are an almost virgin field for experiment in this direction. At negligible expense these could be made into bright and cheerful places. Every pupil could have a simple cupboard in which to put his clothes and on which to set out his personal possessions. A few tables could be added as general furniture. Walls could be colour-washed in pink or green or primrose and individuals encouraged to put up personal drawings or illustrations near their own beds. Each bed could have a light cotton bedspread. African boys often embroider well and the bedspreads might be decorated with an individual pattern of embroi-

dery. Africa is a country full of flowers of great beauty and African servants in European houses show great gifts in flower decoration. One dormitory we saw was bright with flowers, another had most attractive murals, and these are examples which should be widely followed. Occasionally the reason given for the provision of a bare and ugly dormitory was that sleeping arrangements should not differ much from those which obtain at home in the village. Yet teachers who express these views are often the first to expect Africans to reach up to European standards in other spheres. One might as well argue that medical care should be provided at the level of the witch-doctor. Education is not just a matter of book-learning; it is something that affects the whole of life. The handwork and art of a school should be applied to the common living-rooms of the school, to their decoration and furnishings, so lifting up their level and giving a school the mark of a community of civilized beings. The development of individuality is more difficult when numbers of pupils eat or sleep in large aggregations. The best design of secondary school living quarters which we saw provided for 5 small cottages, each housing 12 pupils, arranged in a circle about a 'House' garden, with a 'House' dining-room and washroom for the 'House' unit of 60 pupils. In a school of 240 pupils, 4 of these 'House' villages made a very attractive layout, and there was also a system of 'House' garden competitions so that the setting of the school was made lovely with trees, shrubs, lawns, and flowers.

176. The danger that besets all secondary schools in Africa is that an academic education will estrange pupils from the realities of African life. It is important that leaders in all walks of life should be aware of the paramount importance of the land, of agriculture, and of the dignity of manual tasks. At each school there should be well-managed agricultural work that is linked with some aspects of the academic work of the school. The link is obvious in the case of biology, but other links are possible, particularly in geography, social history, mathematics, and English. We saw schools where the work done on the school farm was not meaningless drudgery but happily performed and linked to intelligent study. On the other hand, in one school, food grown for school use was produced by the very methods of soil exhaustion which the department of agriculture was trying to cure. We suggest, therefore, that at every secondary school there should be some well-managed agricultural work linked intelligently to some part of the academic work of the school in order that the future leaders of African life should be aware of the paramount importance of agriculture and of the dignity of manual tasks.

177. Divergencies of opinion upon the advisability of co-education in schools in Africa are to be expected. There is general agreement that primary schools should be day schools and that for the first four years of school life boys and girls should work together. In areas where education still has to catch the imagination of local people and prove its usefulness, often in areas of scattered populations, there are, however, primary schools for girls with boarding facilities, and sometimes in densely populated areas and where staff is available there are day schools for girls only. On the whole, the intermediate stage has been in separate schools although many non-Roman Catholic missions and some Government schools, both boarding and day, are run

on co-educational lines. Kenya makes provision for 300 day co-educational schools of this kind, in comparison with an allocation of 30 boarding schools for girls. Tanganyika, on the other hand, is making provision through Government and missions for boarding middle schools for girls. In Central Africa this stage of education is almost entirely concentrated on boarding schools in mission stations and co-education is the exception rather than the rule. Where full secondary education is provided for girls it is generally in their own schools, but there are exceptions, as for example in Nyasaland at the Blantyre Secondary School, and in Uganda at such schools as Budo and Nabumali. It would be presumptuous to pass judgement, for each case is determined on its merits and on the public opinion in the area it serves. Every argument to defend one position can be disproved in another situation. Some opposition is based on the assumption that girls are shy in front of boys and will not talk, lose confidence, refuse to ask questions, or admit that they cannot follow. Yet the small group of girls at the Blantyre Secondary School has developed poise and confidence and more than hold their own with the boys in academic work. Equally girls in such schools as the Government Girls' Secondary School at Tabora in Tanganyika, at Gayaza or Mount Saint Marie in Uganda, at the African Girls' High School in Kenya are second to none in social graces, ease of manner, and scholastic achievement. The case could go on being argued, but one thing is clear: that no school should be so isolated from other human contacts that the girls are denied opportunities of developing confidence to meet strangers, to talk with them, and to take their place as educated women in their community. There have been many examples of girls doing well in academic work but dumb and gauche when asked to talk with visitors. This reveals a basic inadequacy in their education, more noticeable, it must be admitted, in girls' schools than in co-educational schools. It is often forgotten, in a zeal to protect girls from harmful influences, that the same 'Cordon Sanitaire' cannot be drawn round their homes during the vacations and that over-caution may well recoil and leave the girls unprepared for the give and take of life in their home communities. A prejudice against co-education can sometimes lead to extravagant results. On one mission station the two top classes of a secondary school consisted of five and three girls respectively and these eight girls had the full-time services of two qualified European graduates. A mile away in a boys' secondary school, men graduates were doing identical work with smallish classes, and yet a suggestion that the eight girls should work in the boys' classes produced a strong reaction of aversion. European graduates are so scarce in African schools that this kind of extravagance is hard to justify. Whilst opinion differs on the desirability or otherwise of co-education at the secondary school stage, a good compromise might be the erection of boys' and girls' schools some distance apart but near enough so that some sharing of staff and pupils is possible, and also co-operation in out-of-school activities such as drama or music or debates.

178. In response to new needs in African society some schools have developed technical or commercial sides which are additional to their more narrowly academic work. This represents a most valuable development of secondary education. In the general expansion of

secondary education we would hope to see not only this kind of development but also the setting up of secondary

schools of various types and not exclusively of the academic type that has been the rule in the past.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 13

RECOMMENDATION NO. 30

We recommend that advantage should be taken of the fact that the great elasticity of the new English General Certificate in Education makes it more suited to the needs of the African secondary school than the present Cambridge Certificate, which, in addition to its rigidity, still reflects in some papers an urban and European outlook

RECOMMENDATION NO. 31

We recommend that all territories should make provision for external candidates to take the Secondary Leaving Examinations, such candidates paying for the costs of their examinations, invigilation, and marking, &c

14. THE TECHNICAL SCHOOL

179. Technical education was not specifically mentioned in our terms of reference and has in any case been the subject of recent investigation and report by Dr. F. J. Harlow, Assistant Educational Adviser for Technical Education to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dr. Harlow's conclusions are embodied in a series of memoranda, two of which we make special reference: (i) *Memorandum on the Problem of Training Skilled Craftsmen in East Africa, chiefly for the Building and Engineering Trades* presented to the Colonial Office, February 1951; and (ii) *Memorandum on the Proposal to establish a Technical College in Nairobi*, presented to the Colonial Office in March 1951.

180. We found ourselves in general agreement with the recommendations of Dr. Harlow in both these memoranda, but it was some of the recommendations contained in the first memorandum that were particularly relevant to our inquiry, and we therefore include the memorandum as an appendix to this chapter and add to our own recommendations some of those of Dr. Harlow's with which we are in particular agreement

181. Our own views on technical education are given here because they reinforce and supplement those of Dr. Harlow, and this is interesting because we approach the subject not from the point of view of his memorandum on the problem of training skilled craftsmen in East Africa, but as a result of considering technical education as an alternative form of post-primary education

182. Technical education is in its infancy in the territories of East and Central Africa and for that reason there is comparatively little experience to draw upon. Certain things must have become quite clear, however. In the first place it must be said that perhaps even more than in Europe successful technical education can only be given in Africa on the basis of a good general education. Certain attempts have been made to produce skilled craftsmen quickly in response to clamant demands from Government and industry and most of these attempts have failed. For example, there was a well-meant effort to give African soldiers on demobilization after the last war sufficient technical education to enable them to earn a living. Most of these soldiers were illiterate or semi-literate and many of them, finding themselves unable to sustain their position as skilled craftsmen, have sold their tools and relapsed into casual labour. More recently a Man-power Com-

mittee in Tanganyika has recommended an attempt on the same lines, claiming that skill in tools can be given to young men who have not even completed a primary education and that literacy is not a necessity. In this connexion a distinction needs to be drawn between men who have been shown how to use tools under direction and constant supervision on the one hand and skilled craftsmen on the other. Industry itself can quickly train the former to work in urban areas in gangs with constant and detailed supervision, but a skilled craftsman needs to be able to tackle a job with no more than a general indication of what is required and to see it through. He must be able to read a blue-print or a technical drawing; he must know what materials and what type of construction are appropriate to a particular occasion, and he must be able to hold his own in face of the intense competition of the Indians who are often jealous of African participation in skilled work and sometimes take unfair measures to eliminate Africans from it. Technical education in Africa is being attempted, notably in Northern Rhodesia, after only six years at school, but those engaged in the work indicated to us that six years were not enough to give the good general education required as a basis for what they were trying to do, and we have no doubt that eight years of general school work is the minimum generally required for this purpose. If technical education is attempted on a shorter basis than this a considerable part of the curriculum must be devoted to general subjects, particularly English, mathematics, and general knowledge, including civics. In other words, the only alternatives in our view which are sound are the technical school after eight years of school life or something very like the English technical secondary school. A purely technical education after four or six years of school life is a tempting expedient, but in our experience and in that of our witnesses is not likely to produce many successful technicians in this part of Africa

183. The next point which we wish to emphasize is the necessity for a close connexion between technical education and industry. Obvious as this necessity is, here as in Europe, it has sometimes been neglected. Representatives of industry should be included among the governing bodies of technical schools or alternatively there should be Technical Advisory Committees. Many of the students passing from technical education in East and Central Africa are absorbed by Government departments or by big national

industries like the railways. The recruiting needs of these departments can easily be ascertained and the output regulated accordingly, but when, as in the copper-belt of Northern Rhodesia and in big towns like Nairobi and Mombasa, the technical schools are providing recruits for industry, periodic surveys of the requirements of the various industrial firms are essential if, on the one hand, unemployment and disappointment and, on the other hand, failure to produce sufficient skilled recruits, are to be avoided. We came across instances where such surveys have been notably lacking in the past. Such surveys should also include the requirements of the rural areas, where there is often an unfulfilled demand, particularly for carpenters, which would otherwise be overlooked.

184. At present the greatest demand for skilled craftsmen in these territories is undoubtedly for builders and carpenters, but there is also a need for motor mechanics, farm mechanics, electricians, sheet-metal workers, tailors, and shoemakers, in many areas, and it is an advantage, particularly from the point of view of general education, to offer a number of alternative courses in the same technical school. This means that the schools must be large enough to justify specialist staff and to carry the necessary equipment on an economic basis. Small technical schools are apt to become too narrow in their output and outlook, and it seems to us that a school of between 300 and 500 students is about the right size. Such a school should make itself responsible in consultation with industry for placing its students after they complete the course and for keeping in touch with them afterwards, through refresher courses and otherwise, to prevent relapse. The length of the courses will vary in accordance with the particular trade in question, but should never be less than three years and should be followed by 'on-training' in industry.

185. In the past, teachers employed in technical schools have all too often been selected for their craftsmanship and not for their teaching ability. Mere ability to handle tools correctly is not enough in a technical teacher, and this branch of education has no doubt suffered to some extent from the low standing and low salaries of its teachers. The question has often been debated whether, now that the necessity for training in teaching is recognized, an attempt should be made to turn a craftsman into a teacher or to turn a teacher into a craftsman. As a result of what we have seen in these territories we are definitely of the opinion that the right way to approach the matter is to turn craftsmen who have proved themselves particularly skilful and intelligent into teachers, and we suggest that each of the

larger territories should have a wing for technical teachers attached to one of its ordinary training colleges where young men who have qualified as craftsmen should receive a year's course in training for the teaching profession and should afterwards be paid as trained teachers as has been the practice in Northern Rhodesia.

186. On the other hand, if it is a question of training a handicraft teacher in a middle or secondary school, we conclude that the emphasis is the other way, since it is then more important that the teacher concerned shall operate as a member of the school team than that he should reach the very high standard of craftsmanship required of a teacher in a technical school. We conclude, therefore, that the better way will generally be to take a teacher already trained who has shown an aptitude for handicraft and give him a year's instruction in a special class in a technical school.

187. We turn once more to the question of wastage, for this is one of the greatest difficulties in technical education in these parts of Africa. As soon as a young man is partially trained the temptation arises to make immediate use of his partial training in order to earn money. It has therefore proved necessary to take precautions against this waste of effort and the danger of consequent relapse into casual labour. Most schools present their students with a box of tools on satisfactory completion of the course and this has proved a considerable inducement. Other schools bind their students as apprentices, and one at least requires a deposit on entrance to the school which is returned on completion of the course. Each territory will decide for itself what precautions are necessary. The essential thing is that the course shall be completed, for otherwise the student has little chance of making good permanently. A system of trade tests on completion of a technical course is now becoming generally used, but attempts to ensure that students enter permanent employment in the first instance as apprentices has proved more difficult to arrange. We hope that efforts in this direction will be continued in spite of the apparent reluctance of industry to co-operate whole-heartedly with such a scheme.

188. We would like to pay a tribute to the excellent work in technical training on sound lines which is being undertaken by the Railways and the Post Offices in this part of Africa, and as a final word on this subject we wish to emphasize once more that sound technical training, keeping pace in its expansion with the gradual industrialization of these territories, is an essential part of post-primary education.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 14

RECOMMENDATION NO. 32

We recommend that:

- (a) as a general rule technical education should be based on eight years of general education;
- (b) technical education should maintain the closest relations with industry in order to meet recruitment requirements fully but without danger of unemployment, in order to place students satisfactorily at the end of their course, and in order to secure the institution of apprenticeship;
- (c) technical schools should take special care to prevent wastage of students during their courses;

- (d) technical schools should be large enough to offer a variety of courses;
- (e) technical teachers should be particularly skilled and intelligent craftsmen who have afterwards taken a course in a teachers' training college, and handicraft teachers in middle and secondary schools should be trained teachers who have afterwards taken a technical course.

In addition we desire to endorse the following recommendations contained in Dr. F. J. Harlow's Memorandum to the Colonial Office dated 7 February 1951.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 33

- (a) An Apprenticeship Scheme is recommended which includes three years at a trade training centre with a further two years 'on-training' in the Public Works Department or, where possible, in industry under supervisors trained in the methods of Training Within Industry. Throughout the training suitable provision should be made for the technical and general education of the apprentices.
- (b) The award of a Territorial Craftsman's Certificate on satisfactory conclusion of five years' apprenticeship is strongly recommended.
- (c) It is recommended that as an external test of progress in technical education apprentices should be encouraged to sit for the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute in their respective crafts.
- (d) In addition to class-rooms and drawing offices, laboratories are needed for the teaching of building, engineering, and electrical science.
- (e) The establishment of short courses of training for supervisors to be responsible for 'on-training' in industry is recommended, preferably at one of the principal trade training centres.
- (f) It is recommended that an Apprenticeship Council be appointed by the Governor of each territory and suggestions for its composition are made. This council would exercise whatever responsibilities may be entrusted to it for the satisfactory conduct of apprenticeship schemes and would maintain close touch with the Labour and Education Departments.
- (g) While under present conditions there is little opportunity for women to obtain gainful employment in plying skilled trades, with rapid social changes which may be expected, early preparation is necessary for training women for such trades as catering and garment manufacture

PART IV

WIDER ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

15. AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

189. In spite of the enlightened and energetic policy of Departments of Agriculture there is on the whole a decline in soil fertility, even though here and there are to be found marked increases in production. The causes of this are several and may be listed as follows:

- (i) *Deforestation*. In spite of a hot climate, wood is used in some places as a fuel for heating and everywhere as a fuel for cooking. There has been slow deforestation over centuries and rapid deforestation in the last fifty years. Departments of Forestry have begun the reversal of this process, but the influence of new plantations will take many years to mature. Deforestation leads to wind- and water-erosion and a lowering both of rainfall and of the water-table.
- (ii) *Erosion*. This is produced by three main causes:
 - (a) Overgrazing, resulting in the virtual removal of all grass and shrub cover;
 - (b) the lack of contour cultivation and ridging on slopes;
 - (c) the lack of wind breaks to minimize wind erosion.
- (iii) *Soil Exhaustion* by continual cultivation of a single crop without the use of manure or compost. Crop rotation, intercropping, and the use of manures have begun to reverse this process in many places. In some areas trees and vegetation are cut and burnt and a single crop harvested in a small area. This area is then left for years to recover and a new patch is burnt. Population increases no longer make such cultivation possible and large areas are sterilized by burning. Areas of grass are often burnt so that the finer and

more useful grasses are destroyed. Some of these destructive processes can be halted by measures of coercion, but only to a limited degree. Coercive measures must be supplemented by widespread and thorough agricultural education that will in the long run obviate the need for coercion. Unless education succeeds at least in this aim, the economic basis of all endeavour, including education, must fail.

190. Stock is kept for two reasons: for food and drink and as a form of wealth. The cost of living is rising steadily in East and Central Africa so that many Africans need more cattle with which to pay a bride-price or for education or clothes or other articles representing a higher standard of living. Many areas are already overstocked and the rising cost of living in a partly moneyless economy will lead to disaster unless halted. Stock-raising tribes usually know a great deal about cattle-breeding but have much to learn in the improvement of pastures, water conservation, and the preparation of skins and hides. Education, coercion, and the introduction of a money-economy, are all needed to deal with a critical situation.

191. The influence of diet on health, temperament, stamina, and mental ability in Africa has only recently been made a matter of research, but it is clear that in some regions diet is lacking in some of the essentials for mental and physical development to such a degree that improvement will only be effected by great changes in food production. This can be assisted by education and example.

192. It is clear, therefore, that the attack on agricultural ignorance must be made simultaneously by the schools

and the agencies of adult education. To rely on the schools alone would be to underestimate the force of adult conservatism; to educate adults in agricultural knowledge and to produce a young educated *élite* divorced from the land would be equally fatal.

193. The opinion is sometimes expressed that children of primary school age are too young for any work in agriculture to be either educationally possible or within their physical powers. If this were so, the outlook would not be bright, because the majority of those who go to school get nothing beyond primary education.

194. In fact, reading, writing, and arithmetic can all grow out of the work in the school garden instead of out of the environment of the class-room. All kinds of objects can be labelled, and drawn, written, and talked about. Plots can be measured, seeds counted, costs used in many sums, as well as questions of weights and measures. We saw excellent vernacular readers, particularly in Kenya, and these are often related to a rural background. But what is needed in addition is reading-material relating to and arising directly out of the school garden and its work.

195. The plans for a primary school should begin with a garden in which there is space for a small agricultural plot, nursery plots, team or group gardens, and space for grass, flowers, and shrubs. A common agricultural plot is needed to demonstrate the basic principles of sound agriculture; experimental plots are necessary if the primary school is to be used as a demonstration centre for the district; group competitions on group plots are keenly entered into by children; and finally, the setting of a primary school should be beautiful and in a country like Africa, which is full of flowers, the class-room should be beautiful also.

196. The planning of the work and aims of a primary school in terms of a garden rather than a building serves as an illustration of the proposed reversal of normal procedure. We have one particular region in mind where before any schools were started in their district the people were undernourished, keeping emaciated stock, and using the most destructive methods of cultivation. Before a school was started a suitable site was chosen, not for a building, but for a garden. A common garden was laid out and also individual gardens. New crops were introduced to the district as well as new methods of cultivation, and the school soon became a seed-distributor for the district. After boys had left the school to go back to work on the land they remained associated with it in activities of the Young Farmers' Club type. Handwork developed for the needs of a garden issued in the making of seed boxes, tree-shelters, planting-sticks, wheelbarrows, and pots. Later, animals were added to the work of food growing and eroded land enclosed to make pasture land. The effect of the schools has spread in the district and shows itself in a movement towards pasture enclosures, better methods of cultivation, and anti-erosion measures. The primary school should always be a most important demonstration centre for the adult educational work of the department of agriculture. Only primary schools are sufficiently numerous and widespread to do this work.

197. For demonstration purposes the experimental plots of a primary school can be used in various ways to show good, bad, and indifferent methods of cultivation. Some plots can have manure, some not; some compost or irriga-

tion channels or rotation or intercropping or ridging, or not. When crops are harvested from the experimental plots the benches and floor of the schoolroom can be used to display boldly the effects of different techniques. Adults from the district can then be invited to examine the exhibition of crops and their explanatory labels and charts, so that the lessons to be learnt are plain for any eye to see.

198. The keeping of small domestic animals is an important part of the nature-study work of the primary school and also helps to show the fruitful interrelation of plant and animal life in food production. Children delight to observe animals and to watch how they grow and feed and reproduce, and this too can be the starting-point of a great deal of primary school work.

199. Regular periods of work in the primary school devoted to the study of environment can do much to produce a lively interest in the rural surroundings of the African child. Unless this is done the seeds of a mental divorce from the land may be sown very early in school life. The nature table, weather observations, and the maps, diagrams, and illustrations of rural life are all needed to fill the class-room with material from the outside world.

200. Because of the prevalent attitude that work on the land is work for the uneducated and for women it is vital that the field work of a school should be completely related to the academic work in the class-room. Drudgery is an inevitable ingredient of all work, but it is accepted cheerfully if its need as part of some intelligent purpose is perceived by even the smallest child. It is for this reason very important that the school garden should not be too large or work there becomes drudgery and children come to hate it. Cultivation should be intensive, not extensive, and based not on food production, but the use of the garden as a starting-point for education. If gardens of larger size than this are used, paid labour should be employed and the costs met from profits on the sale of food. Wherever the school garden is linked closely with class-room work, children gladly, even enthusiastically, enter into the manual work necessary to keep it going; wherever the educational aim is neglected, manual work is desultory and grudging and the final result is to create a dislike of agricultural labour.

201. Primary schools in some districts are fairly close together, and in such districts we found that school gardening was encouraged when some kind of reward was given for the best garden out of those for a group of schools.

202. In some places the middle school is thought of merely as a section of a continuous academic course formed out of two standards lopped off from the primary school and two from the old junior secondary school. What is needed is an entirely new conception of this stage of education as a stage with a curriculum that is a close integration of practical and theoretical studies. Agriculture, as has already been mentioned, will form the most important starting-point of a whole group of studies in the middle school. Because of the great promise of the new middle schools it is important that at these schools the garden and farm-land should never be used primarily to raise food for the boarders or the staff or for sale, but primarily in relation to the school curriculum. An important section of the library of the middle school should be that which contains books and pamphlets on every aspect of farming and rural life. There is now a fair amount of literature on African

agriculture (such as the three books of N. Humphrey on *Africans and Their Land*) and this should find its way into the middle school library.

203. Most of the European teachers in secondary schools have had their previous experience in the urban grammar schools of an industrial society and although some have been able to detach themselves from their anchorage, this fact, and the pressure of examinations, prevent the secondary schools from playing as leading a part in the revival of agriculture in Africa as they should. The importance of the secondary school farm and of a course in agriculture up to School Certificate standard for some pupils in some schools is described in the section of this report dealing with the secondary school.

204. The pressure of examinations on pupils in the secondary schools is very largely responsible for the attitude of mind which regards practical work in agriculture as a waste of time that should be used for examination cramming. It is necessary to pass these examinations, which are written and of a highly theoretical nature, to get further education and so advancement in life. The award of scholarships to secondary schools as a result of competitive examinations exacerbates these evils. Scholarships should be awarded, not on a competitive basis, but on a basis of ascertained need, to those who qualify for admission to secondary schools. The reform of the examination system might do much on the negative side to improve the attitude of mind of educated Africans towards agriculture and practical work.

205. From the point of view of the development of agricultural understanding, the best type of teacher-training college is the composite college, where teachers and

agricultural assistants are trained side by side at a college with a well-run farm and a mixed staff of educational and agricultural experts. So long as a very high proportion of teachers are trained at small colleges, often attached to academic secondary schools where there is no great enthusiasm for agriculture, so long will schools produce children whose one desire is to escape from the land.

206. In some territories where composite training colleges do not exist, arrangements are made for some of the teachers in training, usually from a large college, to go for a period of agricultural training at a college for the training of agricultural assistants. This is excellent as an interim measure, but the period is usually short and tends to be regarded as an excrescence on the main teacher-training course, which remains largely unaffected by it. It cannot be regarded as a valid alternative either to the composite type of college or to the training course which is firmly rooted in the realities of rural life and in which all the so-called academic subjects grow out of those realities.

207. Another arrangement is for selected teachers, who have shown initiative in rural studies, to be seconded for a year's agricultural course at a centre such as Thogoto in Kenya and then to return to the schools. Such a plan is excellent, although the period of secondment of a year confines the benefits of this plan to very few teachers.

208. We deal with agriculture in the university and adult stages of education in subsequent chapters.

209. We have seen the excellent effect of the increasing number of local agricultural shows in arousing interest among adults and children in general improvements and in new methods and practices.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 15

RECOMMENDATION NO. 34

We recommend that the primary school course should be based on the realities of rural life.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 35

We recommend that the primary school should be used

as a demonstration centre for teaching the main lessons of good food production to the adults of its region.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 36

We recommend that pupils who leave the primary school should remain associated with it through activities of the Young Farmers' Club type.

16. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

210. University education only falls within the terms of reference of the group in so far as this affects the work of the schools and the training of teachers at Makerere College, the University College of East Africa.

211. Entrance to Makerere is not open on equal terms to all comers, but a quota of places is allocated to each territory. The argument in favour of this procedure is that, for historical reasons, secondary education has developed unevenly in the territories yet all need Makerere graduates if they are to make any progress in the Africanization of their administrative services. Against this must be set the argument that a quota system lowers standards of entrance and may also obscure the existence of educational backwardness in a particular territory.

212. This year a move in the right direction was made

and a percentage of places released from the quota for open competition. This figure stands at the moment at 10 per cent. but a figure of 20 per cent. might give a fairer weight to the principle of high standards of university entrance.

213. At present entrance to Makerere is based on performance in the School Certificate Examination (or its equivalent). This means that much work that in England is regarded as sixth-form work is now done at Makerere. This is an expensive way of doing sixth-form work since the teachers are university lecturers and it also prevents the development of sixth-form work in secondary schools. As soon as the secondary schools are suitably staffed, entrance to Makerere should be possible at the level of the Advanced or Scholarship papers of the General Certificate of Education. We realize that this question has

been discussed in West Africa, but do not think conclusions reached there apply to Central and East Africa. The scheme for the training of teachers at Makerere College is at present in process of modification, but the present proposal is that teachers shall pursue a two years' course of almost wholly academic studies to be followed by a further period of two years of mainly professional studies, although academic education will be continued by seminar methods. After 1954, when Makerere students will be sitting for the degrees of the University of London, a stream of graduate students will proceed to a fifth year of postgraduate professional studies. The graduates, who have completed a five years' course of studies, will generally want to prepare for work in senior secondary schools whilst the four-year students will generally prepare for work in the intermediate schools. As the quality and quantity of secondary education in Africa improves it should be possible in time for all students of the Institute of Education to complete a five-year course. At the same time the health and progress of every stage of school education requires that a few graduates should teach in primary and in middle schools and therefore that these interests should be represented by the staffing of the Institute. Such an interest is in any case desirable if the Institute is to engage in research and in-service training for teachers in all types of school.

214 These are long-term considerations, and for the next five years the Institute will be to some extent concerned with the preparation of teachers for the new middle schools. These are a most important link in the chain of progress, and if only sufficient teachers can be produced with a genuine vision of the possibilities of the new middle school a great step forward will be taken. The Institute already has in hand a plan to relate its teacher-training work to experimental work in syllabus construction and teaching-methods in a group of neighbouring middle schools. It would be most useful to East Africa if, during the next three-year period, the Institute could call a series of inter-territorial conferences on the work of the middle school to be attended by those who are closely concerned with this development. Such a work would be a most valuable contribution by the Institute at the present juncture.

215. Some of the members of the staff of the Institute have begun a research in Intelligence Testing as applied to East Africa, and it is proposed that a Fulbright Research Fellow will soon embark on a research into wastage. Both of these researches have great immediate relevance.

216. Comment on the academic work of Makerere would not be relevant except in so far as this is related to the preparation of subject-teachers in the schools. The stress placed in other sections of this report on the teaching of English as a foreign language places a special responsibility on the College in this subject not only so far as the content of the subject is concerned but also because English is the vehicle through which the impact of European and African thought takes place. The nature of this impact and its far-reaching consequences require on the one hand a very careful and critical study of what is relevant to the needs of Africa in the cultural tradition of Europe as these

find expression in language, and on the other hand a study of the ways in which English might reinforce and develop African literary gifts.

217. The dual stress laid both on English and on the vernacular makes clear the need at Makerere for a School of African Languages, and it is therefore most satisfactory that a school is to be begun as soon as a suitable Director can be appointed.

218 The very great importance of agriculture in African life implies that it should be strongly represented both in teaching and research at the university level. At present Diploma courses exist which involve in the case of Agriculture a period of study of not less than five years and in the case of Veterinary Science not less than six years. In time these courses should be raised to degree level. The existence of the Faculty of Agriculture at Makerere should make it possible for the students of the Institute of Education to be kept constantly aware of the importance of agriculture in education and also make it possible for their agricultural knowledge to be steadily improved as part of their advancing general education.

219. In developing a very lively School of Art, Makerere has made a notable contribution to the art teaching in the schools in a region of school work that is still very undeveloped. Drama, music, and physical education are also in great need of development in the schools and all have close links with Art. The development of the curriculum of studies of the School of Art to include these other aesthetic studies, in the general direction pioneered in England by the Bath Academy of Art at Corsham Court, Wiltshire, is at present under consideration and the recent appointment to the staff of the School of Art of a graduate of Corsham Court should help in this direction. Such a development is in the best interests of African education and will do much to strengthen those teachers who are beginning to work in the field of aesthetic studies.

220. Uneasiness was expressed by many heads of administrative departments at the effects of a metropolitan environment on Africans sent to London for periods of further study. The view was widely expressed that the rich educational and civic facilities which London offered were gravely offset by the estranging effects of the unusual life on so many who were to make their life-work in the African country-side. The encouragement given to Colonial students studying education at Oxford is a move in the right direction, but one or two similar movements are needed in universities where there is emphasis on Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and where the university is set in a rural background.

221. An expanding educational system will require a steadily expanding university population. A Commission is to be appointed to advise the three Governments of Central Africa on African Higher Education, and it will be most useful if this Commission could extend its terms of reference to include the Governments of East Africa because the problems involved concern all of these Governments and a long-term plan is needed for both Central and East Africa.

17. ADULT EDUCATION

222. In the East African Territories visited adult education is treated as the responsibility of a Department of Social Welfare and not of a Department of Education. Various arrangements are made to secure a liaison between these two departments, but in spite of this, the arrangement has in practice the following disadvantages:

- (i) The idea of adult education as a follow-up of primary education has been little developed. Yet without this, the children who leave immediately after the first four years of schooling, and these are the great majority, may represent a total loss of time and money spent upon them.
- (ii) Premises, equipment, and personnel in one department are often not fully made use of by the other, although such co-operation is practicable.
- (iii) Departments of Education have been in the field longer than Departments of Social Welfare and have already made many contacts with adult groups that are not fully utilized by the newer Departments of Social Welfare. In particular they have had to develop very close ties with missions and Church authorities and so are in a position much more easily to secure their co-operation in this work.
- (iv) Specialist organizers or teachers in such subjects as Domestic Science or Agriculture are not sufficiently used in adult education.
- (v) Students in training are little used in adult education, yet periods of such assistance during their training would be as useful to the students as to adult education.
- (vi) There is a heavy wastage of women teachers by marriage and such ex-teachers would make excellent part-time teachers in adult education, yet this source of supply is insufficiently tapped.

We suggest therefore that adult education should always be the responsibility of a Department of Education under the direction of a senior officer whose experience would not be likely to lead him to think in terms of formal education but to act with the same kind of imagination as is often shown by the Social Welfare Departments.

223. There are many reasons why adult education in Africa is of outstanding importance but there are three main reasons which make its need urgent. These are:

- (a) The degree of decentralization of administration already planned calls for an amount and spread of literacy that does not exist and there is danger that democratic forms of government are being developed ahead of literacy. Democratic elections were observed, for example, where the absence of literacy led inevitably to the risk of political intimidation.
- (b) Population increase and the decline of soil fertility call for more rapid changes in methods of agriculture than can be produced by school education alone if crises are to be avoided in many areas.
- (c) The impact of Western ideas upon tribal society by all the unorganized and uncontrolled agencies which influence social change is producing a breakdown of moral sanctions. The educated minority is too small, and the present work of the Christian Churches not sufficiently strong to counteract this process.

224. Adult education in Africa, for the reasons given above should aim primarily at providing (1) literacy, (2) better food production, (3) standards of personal and community living. The techniques to be used in adult education in relation to literacy have been much explored, although more experimental work needs to be done; those to be used in relation to better food production are still in a very elementary stage; whilst those relating to the development of a moral code have not yet been devised even in an experimental way. There is a great field for pioneer work here, particularly by the Churches.

225. The role that adult education should play in Africa must for many years be very different from that now played in Europe. The average income per head of population is very low compared with Europe and it will require time before African territories can afford the kind of formal education which Africans believe gives great advantages to Europeans in their country. If co-operation between the races in Africa is to develop and the great desire of Africans for education is not to be frustrated by the poverty of their country, it is vital that methods of education should be devised which give the maximum of results for the minimum of expenditure.

226. The large majority of the children who have had only the first stage of primary education must return to the life of the small group of families and the practical work of food production. In these conditions it is at present difficult to maintain literacy and much more difficult to follow up some of the interests aroused at school. The chief need here is not so much for teaching as for the production of a sufficient volume of inexpensive literature which will follow on from the degree of literacy attained in the primary school but cater for adolescent and then adult interests.

227. In the more populous areas and where there is a fairly widely spoken vernacular such as Chinyanja or Luganda, there is already a moderate production of newspapers and books, which for these areas has done something to meet the demand. It seems unlikely, for reasons of prices and limited markets, that this vernacular literature can be greatly increased. Yet such a scale of production of follow-up literature virtually leaves the problem untouched. It cannot, in fact, be solved except in terms of the large production of follow-up literature in the English language, because for such a production the market would be immense and the production costs correspondingly low. At present such a development is only likely to be effective in Northern Rhodesia, where English is taught for three of the four years of primary education. The first step to be taken, if a great deal of the work done in formal education is not to be wasted, is for the other territories to follow the example of Northern Rhodesia and provide three years of English teaching in the primary school. The case for this on educational grounds is argued elsewhere. The next step is to link school and adult education by the provision of suitable literature and its wide distribution. This step will call for research, pilot experiment, and effective action in the field.

228. The provision of literature in English suited to the adolescent is the prime need of follow-up education, but this is impersonal and there is great value, even within

limited circles, of an educational activity that brings adults and adolescents together for short educational and recreational courses of one kind or another. Many efforts of this kind are being made in East and Central Africa in the form of Initiation Camps, Brides' Courses, School Leaver Camps, and so on, but they are at present isolated and sporadic. No attempt has been made to face this problem on a territorial basis by the provision of standing camps at which ex-primary-school children could attend a short educational and recreational course of, say, three weeks at some time between the ages of fifteen and twenty. In order to see the size of the problem one might take the case of Kenya, where approximately 6,000 children leave Class IV of the primary school every year. It would probably be an optimistic guess that one-sixth of this group would in any particular year accept the offer of a camp course; so that provision would need to be made annually for not more than 1,000. A particular camp might provide twelve three-week courses a year and any course should not be greater in number than 100, for both practical and educational reasons. Kenya would thus require 10 standing camps only, and if each camp worked on the basis of 4 teams of 25 students, the total staff needed for this work might only be 4 field workers and, say, 1 organizer or 5 in all. The camp staff of four could work out a course that was on its educational side intensive but which provided also a good measure of recreation. Films, posters, exhibitions, and classes (very carefully devised after suitable experiment) might provide a short experience that had far-reaching effects. At the age of adolescence, young men and women are very open to educational, idealistic, and civic teaching. The experience of the Scandinavian Folk High Schools suggests that short courses at this age yield rich returns and that even a minority of adolescents who pass through them can greatly influence the development of a nation.

229. A different kind of follow-up education for adolescents, which, for reasons of finance, must at first be limited in scope, is that which may be described as a still-born experiment in Tanganyika. In this scheme a 1,000-acre farm was to be divided into small-holdings which could be taken up by ex-Standard VI boys and run on co-operative lines. In the first year the boys were to work as labourers on the farm and to be paid the local rate of wages. The second year was to be given up to general and agricultural education with the inclusion of inspirational activities of the kind used in the Danish Folk High Schools. At the end of two years the boys were to be admitted as shareholders of the co-operative farm for a period of three years. During this time they would receive the wages of an agricultural labourer plus a share in the profits of the farm. During the last three-year period, however, half of their income would be frozen and handed to them in a lump sum on the completion of the five years. This amount, generally about £100, would be sufficient to enable a young man to marry and start off as a small-holder. The initial capital for this scheme was to have been provided from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund to be repaid from the profits of the scheme over a long period. It is a pity that this experiment did not begin though it was planned, for something of this kind is greatly needed. A somewhat similar scheme in Uganda is well under way.

230. The enlightened principles and techniques of mass education for literacy, as described in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies on Mass Education in African Society, are everywhere in Central and East Africa being applied in a great variety of different ways. So far as literacy in the vernacular is concerned the Laubach method or variations on it are generally used and with success. During the present experimental period this variety of approach and method is an advantage, but the time now seems ripe for a wide survey of the work in hand, so that the better methods may be selected from the less good.

231. In several territories the mass education for literacy of a whole district has been attempted by what may be termed saturation methods. The degree and spread of illiteracy has been determined and plans made for a literacy campaign that will reach as much as 90 per cent. of the adult population. Such campaigns usually utilize group methods of teaching in order to get quick results, but it is probable that the slower Laubach method of 'each one teach one', or individual teaching, leads in the end to the production of more literates. Another danger is that such campaigns usually start off with great enthusiasm but this is not maintained. The usual practice of awarding Literacy Certificates or badges on the completion of a simple test of literacy is most popular and valuable. Mass literacy campaigns of this type are expensive and the cost of extending them from the district to the province and even to the territory would seem to be at present greatly beyond the financial resources available.

232. Literacy is only a tool and mass education for literacy represents wasted effort unless (a) enough reading-material can be provided as a follow-up, or unless (b) the literacy is closely related to economic development such as is fostered among the fishermen of Lake Nyasa or the agriculturalists of the Monze District in Northern Rhodesia or the producers of skins and hides of Northern Tanganyika. The two Central and East African Publication Bureaux produce cheap booklets in the vernacular which may suffice to maintain literacy where this is sought for narrowly economic ends, but neither produces literature in the volume that would be needed to maintain literacy where it is sought for general utilitarian and educational ends. This can only be done when the language of mass education is English.

233. Mass education in English is the only type that will make any really forceful impact on the life of the people, but there are two difficulties to be overcome if it is to be put into practice. English, unlike the Bantu languages, is not phonetic and also it has to be taught as a foreign language. Yet greater difficulties than these were overcome by the Chinese who developed mass education in the Peking dialect. The techniques of mass education in English need to be worked out without delay and pilot schemes begun. The only experience which we encountered that might be of value was in the teaching of English to adults in Somaliland, where the method used was a modified form of Basic English teaching. An important initial question to be decided is whether to take the plunge straight away into English or whether to make this a second step following an initial literacy campaign in the vernacular. The second course would seem theoretically to be the sounder.

234. The most successful mass education schemes we have seen have been those where literacy was related closely to some form of actual or potential economic development. In some cases provincial or district Development Teams composed of specialists from the departments were associated with the work; in other cases the literacy campaign was designed to help a particular occupational group such as fishermen or stock-keepers to improve their yields; in other cases again it was related to the introduction of some form of home handicraft. All of these ways are most valuable means of relating literacy to economic welfare and need to be expanded and developed, since they lead to a continuously developing education.

235. The influence of commercial films on the minds of Africans, particularly young Africans, has been very great and it is the opinion of many Africans that this influence is in the main harmful. On the negative side there is a need for a censorship of films and for the placing of films in such categories as 'A—for Adults only'. On the positive side much is done by educational agencies, such as the British Council and Departments of Information, Public Relations and Social Welfare. So long as the majority of Africans are illiterate, the film and the pictorial poster must be the chief methods by which such departments as those of Agriculture and Health can make use of adult education. Films in Africa can nearly always be shown in the open air, and a Departmental Mobile Cinema Van showing films which illustrate the very simple truths of soil conservation, food production, animal care, and healthy living in a dramatic and even humorous way can exert tremendous influence, as experience in Africa already shows.

236. There is a great lack of education by posters in Africa. What is greatly needed, for example, is a series of six very well designed posters illustrating the need of contour ridging, crop rotation, composting, afforestation, selective grazing, and intercropping. Every school should have a set on its walls, every community centre, *boma*, police-station, and dispensary should have a set, so that the simple truths of food production would sink into the minds of Africans through their eyes. Outstanding problems could be most effectively tackled in this way.

237. School broadcasting exists in one or two territories, but is at present in its infancy except in Northern Rhodesia, where a wide distribution of fairly inexpensive 'Saucepan sets' has had an enlivening influence both on school and adult education. Where conditions of good reception can be achieved, broadcasting might play a very useful part indeed in school education since there are so many untrained teachers, by bringing good teaching into remote schools. The standard of spoken English in Africa is low because many Africans hear little English spoken by Englishmen, and the high proportion of mission teachers of English for whom English is a foreign tongue adds to the confusion. Regular school broadcasts in good simple English might do much to raise the standard of spoken English. Not until English has become more generally known can broadcasting play a vital, important role in adult education, but then it will have a great future.

238. The percentage of illiterates in Africa is very high and will only slowly be reduced, but there are urgent problems calling for educational solutions that must be applied to this proportion. The methods to be used must

be oral and visual. There is therefore a need to develop a co-ordinated attack on the education of illiterates by film, poster, and radio until the fruits of formal and mass education begin to be harvested.

239. The British Council, Missions, Social Welfare Departments and the Literature Bureaux all take the initiative in providing library services, both postal and fixed; nevertheless considering the territories as a whole, the provision is uneven. We suggest, therefore, that the Library Services of a territory should be under the direction of an Education Officer who should co-ordinate existing work and plan for expansion.

240. The expansion of Library Services has been thought of in relation to the needs of adult education, but except in Kenya not in relation to the needs of the schools and nowhere in relation to the needs of training colleges. Many training colleges are without libraries even of professional books, but they also need libraries of general books. It should be possible to kill two birds with one stone and provide libraries that are open for use both by students at teacher-training colleges and also for literate adults in the region. If, as a beginning, every teacher-training college were provided with a unit library of 500 books, this would at any rate be a start. Such a small library would be barely sufficient even for the needs of a small teacher-training college, but books in Africa are so scarce that they must be greatly used. Moreover, if a member of the staff of the teacher-training college were asked to act as Regional Librarian and a small team of students used to work the library as a regional service, this would be a very useful way of relating the life of the students to the life of the locality.

241. Secondary schools are often without libraries (although they may have a small collection of books). Middle schools are nearly always and primary schools are almost without exception bookless except for texts. All of these types of school could act as a centre for a regional library with advantage both to the school and to the locality.

242. At present an irresponsible vernacular press has not appeared in Central or East Africa. But as literacy grows a vacuum will be filled by a bad newspaper service unless every assistance is given to the present excellent ventures in vernacular newspapers sponsored by a variety of sources. Most of these newspapers were started by Europeans, many are still produced by Europeans and they are educational in the best sense of providing news, information, and entertainment. They play and will increasingly play an important role in relation to mass education in the vernacular. When mass education in English gets under way there will be a need for increasing the items and articles in the English language that already figure slightly in most vernacular newspapers.

243. There is a great need in Africa for a good child's newspaper of the 'comic-strip' genus on the lines of the English *Eagle*. The combination of picture and legend is an excellent way of teaching English and in addition it could give teaching in religion and general knowledge in an entertaining way. A cheap production would find a ready sale, for increasingly African children earn small sums of money in various ways and spend them injudiciously. Comic strips are to be included in a new children's magazine to be published this year by the East Africa Literature Bureau.

244. Since almost all education is fee-paying, parents have a financial interest in the schools their children attend, and it is universally found that a parent's interest in his child's education can be a valuable means of educating the parent, if this interest is fostered by a Parents' Association. Every school should aim at having its Parents' Association in order to lessen the educational gap between the generations. Parents' Associations can also become most useful organizations for informal adult education. The primary school can be used as a demonstration centre for agricultural education; the intermediate school for the introduction of new crafts; the secondary school as a centre of social progress; and in every case the interest of parents can be used to advantage in the general educational advance.

245. The developing network of Community Centres in Kenya and Somaliland provides a useful experience for other territories where these are less well developed. In Kenya and Northern Rhodesia they are financed from the profits on the sale of beer and tea. They are equally centres of recreation, information, and education. Good broadcast reception brings in listening groups. Films, indoor games, sports clubs, dancing, and the provision of reading-material provide for recreational activities. An Information Room, Library, Debates, Interracial Forums, and Evening Classes provide adult education. The influence of these centres wherever there is any density of population is clearly very great. In particular the recreational side is important. Many of the old emotional and aesthetic outlets have been killed either by advancing civilization or narrow conceptions of religion. For many life must be drab, and unless healthy recreations are provided, energy will go into anti-social activities.

246. In the more populous areas there is often an apparently unsatisfied demand for evening classes, particularly in English and arithmetic and in the townships for commercial subjects. The difficulty is the lack of teachers, but the existence of a large number of indifferent private evening schools suggests that Education Departments should not leave this field so much to private enterprise.

247. Most Africans who are keen on education hope to finish the full secondary course, whether they have the necessary aptitudes or not, and aspire eagerly to secure the coveted School Certificate. A number who fall by the wayside during the secondary school course take up correspondence courses for matriculation. Some, who pay the fees of Wolsey Hall for example, do very well. But far too many fall the easy victims to less reputable courses. Any department of education that cared to provide a good correspondence course of the standard of reputable English courses would find no difficulty in financing it, and would in addition save many Africans from frustration.

248. The Literature Bureaux at Lusaka and Nairobi undertake the bulk of the printing and publishing which provides those who work in the field of adult education with books and pamphlets of all kinds. They are fully extended in the work of production, but the need of literature is immense and there would seem to be a need for a bureau in each territory. Cheapness and good distribution are the two essentials which must be met if there is to be a rapid advance in the field. The work of the bureaux will be restricted and difficult until the language policy already developed in a previous chapter is adopted. On the side of distribution a bold new policy needs to be planned. There

are many difficulties to be overcome, but they may yield to unorthodox solutions, some of which are now being tried in Central Africa. The East African Bureau is also in future to direct a great deal of its resources to building up a book-selling trade among Africans.

249. One of the greatest needs in urban areas is for a scheme of adult education. Here is either the training-ground for wise leadership in politics or trades unions or the breeding-place for political malcontents and irresponsible disturbers of industrial life. The community or welfare centre there can cover a wide range of activities, especially if it has a good library. The appointment of a full-time warden who can focus and co-ordinate the voluntary activities of the region is justified. The need for evening classes is greater in urban areas than in rural areas, as is also the possibility of meeting the need, because workers in the Civil Service and trade are particularly keen to improve their earning power. In one town, for example, a group of civil servants were anxious to develop a scheme of voluntary evening classes and prepared to do so on a self-supporting basis if the department of education would first take the initiative by training part-time teachers. In towns, schemes for the day-release of juvenile employees for further education are needed. This valuable and fruitful avenue of further education has not yet been much explored in Central and East Africa. If a beginning were made with the employees of Government departments, private firms would follow their example and soon realize (as have employers in Europe) that the time spent away from work is more than repaid in terms of increased efficiency.

250. Both education and social services should be encouraged to provide and to encourage other agencies to provide libraries, clubs, night-schools, reading-rooms, playing-fields for games and athletics, and as the educated groups expand, facilities for debates, discussions, exhibitions, music, and drama. Much is already being done, as we have seen, with interest and appreciation, both by local authorities, the British Council, and Government departments. These individual efforts need expanding and co-ordinating. Here is a field where increasingly people of all races can be brought together through their common interests.

251. Co-operative producer and consumer societies are numerous in many parts of Africa, but the movement is only very slightly associated with education and in this respect is unlike the co-operative movements of Europe and the United States of America and Canada. The study of co-operative methods can be a powerful incentive in adult education, and the methods and techniques of co-operative adult education in Nova Scotia, Canada, could be applied most usefully in Africa where similar difficulties of scattered communities and poor communications hold. It is the general rule of co-operative societies in other parts of the world that a percentage of the profits, sometimes as much as 10 per cent., should be devoted to education. There is a strong case for applying compulsion in this way to co-operative societies where this is not an accepted voluntary principle.

252. There are a number of problems affecting the nature and direction of developments in informal education on which more accurate information is needed. Research could profitably be made on such topics as:

(a) The nature and extent of the stabilization of labour in urban areas.

- (b) Leisure-time occupations and interests of Africans in town and country.
- (c) The effects of boarding school life on children after they have left school.

253. It is a curious thing that the Churches generally play so small a part in adult education work. This is curious because loss of literacy is liable to lead to loss of religion, and also this seems to be a work peculiarly suited to the genius of a voluntary and religious society rather than a secular and closely organized Government department. It is by its nature informal. The recipients suffer less from irregular attendance than children, so that fluctuation and change are less harmful. It is a field calling for bold experiment, and this is always easier for the voluntary society than the Government department. A special work can be done for the adolescent, and this is just the time of life when men and women hear with force the call to the religious life. A Church is itself an adult society and has contacts with adults that are not open in the same way to the Government. For all of these reasons the time is ripe for a great new pioneer effort by the Churches. The period of pioneer work in education by the Churches is over, though some are slow to see this. But here a great new field could be opened up. Reading, rural life, and religion (the adult three R's) could be combined, assisting each other and strengthening the life of the religious society.

254. The Churches themselves at present feel that their resources are too fully used to make it possible for them to embark on new work. There is, however, one field of activity where they are expending much money and effort and getting very poor returns. The Churches maintain thousands of small, scattered 'bush' or unaided schools. The average picture of such a school is of a large number

(often as many as 60 or even 80) of children of all ages, assembled in a dilapidated building under a single untrained teacher where children by rote methods of learning absorb the elements of vernacular literacy, arithmetic, and religious knowledge. Many facts are absorbed, but many minds are deformed in the process. The harmful effects of this so-called education are happily mitigated by the fact that attendance is most irregular and wastage great. If the Churches were to abandon this educationally unsound work and to divert the money and energy so freed into the channels of adult education, the rewards would be very much richer and the life of the Churches stronger.

255. The Churches, pursuing their evangelical and teaching work, are themselves very powerful agencies of adult education. It is clear that often their influence is very deep and profound, transforming the whole heart and mind of those who are influenced by their Christian message. Yet it is clear that for some Africans Christianity is a thin veneer or it is habit assumed in order to secure the goodwill of a mission that disposes of material benefits. Sometimes the conflicting messages of contiguous Christian sects confuse the African mind. It is not surprising that here and there fanatical religious movements which are a curious jumble of distorted Christianity and paganism develop like fungi in the darkness, and these sometimes terminate in murder and madness. The Churches have a great new role to play as partners with the State in formal education, and they could also answer the challenge of new pioneer work in informal education. The question they must ponder very seriously is whether or not some of the thought, energy, and control in child education should not give place to a larger effort in their proper task, which is the preaching and practising of the Christian religion to adults.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 17

RECOMMENDATION NO. 37

We recommend that adult education should always be the responsibility of a Department of Education under the direction of a senior officer whose experience would not be likely to lead him to think in terms of formal education but to act with the same kind of imagination as is at present often shown by the Social Welfare Departments.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 38

We recommend that one definite aim in adult education should be that of 'following up' primary education by the supply and distribution of a much greater volume of inexpensive literature which would follow on from the primary school but be designed to meet adolescent and adult interests.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 39

We recommend that standing camps should be set up at which ex-primary-school pupils should attend a short educational and recreational course at some time between the ages of fifteen and twenty.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 40

We recommend that mass literacy campaigns should

only be begun when it is clear that their work can be sustained into the future.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 41

We recommend that the techniques of a mass education campaign in English suited to Africa should be worked out and a pilot scheme begun.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 42

We recommend that there should be an expansion in the use of visual and oral methods in adult education, i.e. by film and radio, but particularly by the wide use of striking posters which, for example, display the few simple truths of better food production.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 43

We recommend that the library services of a territory should be under the direction of an education officer who should co-ordinate existing work and plan for expansion.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 44

We recommend that where Unit Libraries of a Library Service are placed in an educational institution to be used as a centre for a region, wherever possible a training college should be used as such a centre.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 45

We recommend that the two Literature Bureaux should take every step to increase production and extend the distribution of literature.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 46

We recommend that all co-operative societies should be

required to set aside a percentage of profits to be devoted to work in co-operative education.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 47

We recommend that a great new pioneer effort in adult education should be made by the Churches and that they should, by contracting some of their educational work which at present yields small returns, embark strongly upon a new venture in this field.

18. THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

256. In the years that have passed since the writing of the Phelps-Stokes Report and the declaration of Educational Policy for British Tropical Africa, there has been a revolutionary change of attitude towards the education of women and girls. Then it was approached with diffidence and caution: 'It is obvious that better education for native girls and women in Tropical Africa is urgently needed, but it is almost impossible to over-state the delicacy and the difficulties of the problem.' Since then those problems have been tackled with boldness and resolution, and although there is still a long way to go, there are African women today in East and Central Africa who are able and ready to join with Europeans in the education, training, and emancipation of African women generally.

257. There is widespread and sincere recognition from men and women, African and European, of the need to extend qualitatively and quantitatively educational facilities for women and girls. There are still, however, many inevitable handicaps and delays. Progress seems slow and results disappointing to those who realize how much experience, change, and development must be telescoped into the lifetime of one generation, if the evolution of society in Africa is to be well balanced and based on the complementary contributions of its men and women. This statement needs some expansion, for the role of woman in modern society is increasingly complex. In East and Central Africa, in particular, the problem is increased by the wide differences in tribal custom and practice, by the difficulties created in a society, an important part of which is in transition from rural to urban and from subsistence to cash economy; by the growth of African professional, technical, and clerical groups all with differing economic and social backgrounds; and by the pressure on all Africans in differing degrees of new material and moral forces.

258. The immediate challenge is to the minority of men and women who are personally involved in and influenced by these changes. The great responsibility, however, lies with the Europeans and Africans who are concerned with the mass of women still living in the country areas, few of whom have been to school, or sent their children to school, or have been in direct contact with the material manifestation of modern life—the women who are onlookers rather than participators in the rapidly changing pattern of living.

259. In order to be well balanced the evolution of African society should be based on the complementary contributions of men and women. At present the education of women lags seriously behind that of men, so every step possible should be taken to hasten its pace and widen its

content. This will mean that, for a time, especially favourable terms should be offered to girls to induce increased numbers to come forward for education. Only by this means will a sufficiently large number of educated women emerge to carry progress a stage further and to increase the number of educated women, which is small in comparison with the number of educated men.

260. The education of girls has to meet many needs. There is the woman in the family, whether she is in the bush or in the town; whether she is the wife of the man who lives on the land or the skilled worker in town or plantation, the clerk, the professional, or the man who has had his training overseas, and has qualifications similar to those of Europeans. There is the woman who earns her living, either by existing African custom whereby she owns property or takes her share of the money for crops she has helped to grow, or by such specialist training as nurse or teacher. The growing group of economically independent spinsters is a new and important factor in African society. Then there is the woman who is taking her part in community life, whether through her Church, some voluntary society, or in other ways.

261. By this measure more is expected of women than can be provided by the traditional school or the training institution. Women and girls need an education that fits them to live in a world of social change; and they need the tools of learning to help them to understand and take a fuller part in daily life. Then increasing numbers need opportunities for professional and occupational training so that they can be both economically independent and fitted to take over progressively the responsibility for educating and training their own people. The main task for education among women and girls therefore is to provide so sound a training in the techniques of living that the whole level of African life can be raised socially, intellectually, and spiritually by the full co-operation of women in the home and in the community at large. That is why at this stage just as much (if not more) attention and effort is necessary for the informal education of adolescent and adult women as for the formal education of girls. There is no woman's problem, there is a multiplicity of problems varying with place and people, with sociological and anthropological factors, with the historic past and the political and economic present. Yet ways must be found, and swiftly, to answer the known and unknown needs, the conscious aspirations and the as yet unawakened hopes and untrained capacities of the majority of women in East and Central Africa.

262. However varied are the social patterns of tribal life, there is generally a common tradition of woman's being the worker in the home and on the land, in spite of any other influence she may exercise. The effect of formal education is to upset the established order in society, to disturb old relationships, and to make fresh and often uncomfortable demands upon the men and to ask of them difficult and often disturbing responsibilities, in relation to home, children, and domestic affairs generally. The curriculum for girls' schools includes training for the customary work on the land and in the home, but introduces new processes and labour-saving methods. A girl understands for the first time such things as the simple but fundamental rules of health education, the care of children, and food values. When she carries these into the home, she runs up against the inevitable reluctance to change; the resentment of the old at taking advice from the young, and she in turn loses respect for the older and less-educated generations. Modern education opens new horizons and girls learn that there are other relationships between men and women and differing divisions of labour. They learn to think for themselves and to express their thoughts. Debates and essays on the controversial aspects of men-and-women relationships reveal how quickly African girls grasp the possibilities of change. Increased opportunities of employment for women mean more economic independence. Education is putting them on an intellectual level with men and they can hold their own opinions and argue them logically. In spite of this, and perhaps because the advantages outweigh the difficulties, mental resistance to change among men is on the wane and more and more of the educated and influential men are seriously concerned with stimulating girls' education. They realize that their legitimate aspirations, political, social, and professional, cannot be realized unless they have wives to share them. In one territory a group of influential Africans asked the Woman Assistant Director of Education if she would run some tea-parties so that their wives could learn European ways of social behaviour and develop the art of conversation. In another territory a growing number of husbands are ready to allow their wives to leave home for periods varying from five months to a year to take residential courses in homecraft. In another, when school fees were raised and drops in attendance were reported among boys, more than one girls' boarding school found itself on the first day of term with all its girls back bringing their fees with them.

263. Women themselves are sometimes the strongest opponents of change. They fear the effect of contacts with Europeans for their daughters and the result of education upon them. This is, of course, a generalization, but supported by evidence from a number of territories. Ignorance of African social organization may lead Europeans to pity African women unnecessarily. They work hard and continuously, bear burdens and children, endure hardships and ill health, but are none the less enveloped in the safe, known way of living with precedents in behaviour to meet every contingency from birth to death. Their influence both overt and covert is considerable, and particularly where puberty rites and initiation ceremonies still exist and concentrate authority in their hands, education comes as a disruptive force. It excludes groups of girls from the community and thus saps the power of the older women, and it also isolates those girls and women from their com-

munity and tends to make them outcasts, who suffer loneliness until a sufficient number can make a society of their own. African women, who cannot rest from the daily round of labour on which the life of the community depends, develop a sense of duty and of responsibility to a greater degree than most men. They genuinely believe that if they were relieved of their burdens they would be betraying their trust as wives and mothers as they see it, and this explains again their dislike and distrust of the effects of education. It must be recognized that the modernization of women's life may lead to a temporary set-back both in their status and their influence in society. The removal of the old externally imposed discipline may result in moral decline unless self-restraint takes its place based upon a positive code of behaviour rooted in spiritual belief.

264. The participation of European women as equals with men in professional fields is still sufficiently recent for the position of Women Officers in Colonial Territories to be quite difficult to sustain. A paradoxical situation arises. On the one hand, the expatriate Woman Officer is expected to take in her stride loneliness, discomfort, responsibility in relation to people of other races, difficulties of running a house or an institution with men servants, of undertaking arduous journeys involving dangers of delay and breakdown in isolated areas, and unsuitable rest camps. She is expected to be enduring, patient, and strong. On the other hand, she is often expected to put up with inferior living conditions and to give way automatically to men with families, regardless of the responsibility of her position and her need for privacy. She cannot take her leisure-time pleasures with the freedom of men although her work involves her in similar rigours. The senior woman is not always given proper social recognition; she is used in her specialist capacity, but her advice is sometimes neither taken nor sought on matters in which she is competent. These are generalizations from a series of observations and incidents and the position naturally varies with place and persons, but the situation calls for understanding because unless Europeans set the example of respecting the European professional woman and treat her as a partner, and honour her socially, Africans cannot be expected to give similar respect to their women and to encourage their progress at this stage of development.

265. In most territories there are school fees and in some places they are increasing. Where parents' means are limited, boys generally have first claim for economic reasons. Most girls get married and unless a direct connexion can be seen between what a girl does at school and her suitability as a wife, it often appears that money is wasted. There were criticisms from some African witnesses of girls who had been to some of the boarding schools. They could neither speak English, make clothes, nor take an interest in their homes, and the parents could see no return for their outlay. But the bulk of comment was all in favour of education, especially in the areas where imaginative and interesting homecraft was the core of the curriculum. There were, however, many cases reported in each territory where parents had to make the choice between boys and girls and boys were given the preference. Bride-prices are also a consideration and often prevent early marriages among men but not women, although the marriage age tends to rise with increased educational opportunities. One tribe is said to calculate the cost of the girl's

education and to add it to the bride-price. On the other hand, we were told in many areas that the increase of salaries and the cost-of-living allowances made it possible for educated men to marry educated women. We suggest therefore that in order to reduce the present large disparity between the relative number of girls and boys in all school classes except the first two, bursaries open to girls only should be offered to cover the whole or part of the fees due in respect of the attendance of girls.

266. In every territory, girls' education at the top of the primary school and in middle and secondary schools is mainly based on homecraft and child-care. The influence of these girls filters through in varying degrees to the girls who do not go to school. But the new standards make demands upon a conscientious woman that she cannot meet while she has to walk considerable distances daily for fuel and water and while she has to spend a long time pounding and preparing the staple foods. Piped water, planned accessible fuel supplies, and grinding mills are essential preludes to greater provision of education facilities. Sometimes the opposition to these improvements has come from Africans themselves. Men say that life would be made too easy for the women and that they would soon get into mischief; women say that they have always had these tasks to do and cannot see why they should not go on doing them; both are often conservative enough to resent change in diet and prefer pounded to milled flour, for example. In this they share the similar conservatism of people the world over. It indicates, however, the importance of the preparation of people's minds for material changes if they are to have their full value. Customs of hospitality and exchange of festivities in connexion with birth, initiation, betrothal, marriage, and death impose heavy social and entertaining obligations. Where polygamy is the practice this is moderately easy because the burden is shared. But it falls hard upon those who have accepted the Christian standards of monogamy while still taking part in the community life of their people. The moral dilemma of African peoples which has already been discussed in this report is as much or more of a challenge to women than to men. Their reluctance to break with tradition has already been mentioned in other connexions: so has their endurance and sense of duty. The men are in more regular contact with the influences that are breaking up the old tribal society, but the women are the guardians of the home. On them falls the job of finding a working answer to moral problems. The case for the women who are left behind when their husbands go overseas has been summed up by an African woman from Uganda who writes:

Men in this country get scholarships to go abroad, and this is very good for them because they learn more and they see many things which broaden their outlook. But when they go they leave their wives behind. This is very bad for the married couple in several ways. It is bad for the man because of—

(a) He learns and sees many new things without sharing them with his wife, so when he comes back he finds that his wife does not help him in discussing their common problems, their thoughts are different. They cannot talk and discuss together as husband and wife as profitably as before.

(b) Some of the men who have no friends there feel very lonely in the strange crowded country and miss the company of their wives.

It is bad for the woman because of:

(a) They feel very lonely when they are left here, and some of them try to get over their loneliness by going to bad societies; and so when their husbands come back, they are no longer able to live happily together as before because their interests clash violently.

(b) Maintenance allowance for wives is inadequate, especially when they have children.

(c) Very often they are unhappy in the places they are left to live. Many of them stay with their relations and although their relatives are glad to have them, it is not always easy to get on well with one's relatives, or with those of one's husband.

(d) Women have few opportunities for learning more and widening their experience. Husbands rise far above their wives, which does not always work to the advantage of the home and society. (Already those few women we have at present who had chances to go abroad with their husbands are showing good examples.)

In Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Kenya, for example, men go off to work on contract in various industries and commercial enterprises and leave the women to carry on. They have to adapt themselves to a state of temporary grass widowhood and have in addition to take on economic responsibilities, to keep their families and educate their children.

267. An opportunity that presents itself for the education of women occurs whenever special courses are provided for men and they are permitted or encouraged to bring their wives with them. Some training colleges, and most refresher courses for teachers, allow this, and whenever a group of married women are gathered together in this way the opportunity occurs of providing a parallel but quite different course for women.

268. It is of great importance to the individual, to the family concerned, and to the community generally that gulfs should not be created between men going overseas for further education and the wives they leave behind.

(i) Responsibility should be accepted and arrangements made for bringing the wives and children to special centres, such as Kabete in Kenya. Here they should learn or improve their English, the only medium for understanding the new experiences of their husbands and of sharing the records of them. They should be given homecraft that includes a knowledge of social behaviour, improved dress, and some European cookery.

(ii) Wives who can benefit by the experience should be given the chance of joining their husbands for the last part of their stay and should carry out a programme of their own following their aptitudes and interests. This is already being done in individual cases, but there are territories which ignore this issue completely.

269. There are most interesting and heartening developments among adult women. Increasingly European women are joining in voluntary efforts both to improve standards of home life for Africans and to bring them literacy, skill in crafts, and a training in how to run their own affairs. In many cases such voluntary work has preceded and paved the way for the more sustained efforts of Welfare or Community Development Departments. It would be impossible to record either the extent or the variety of work done in all territories by individual women, wives of members of the Colonial Service, planters, settlers, farmers, men in banking, industry, and commerce. They run clinics and

infant welfare centres, play centres and crèches, schools and sewing classes, and in so doing build up the confidence of unschooled African women in unfamiliar social services and put future interracial co-operation on the sound foundation of community of interest. Then voluntary organizations such as the East Africa Women's League, Tanganyika Women's Service League, Uganda's and Nyasaland's Council of Women, and the Red Cross are all taking part in more highly organized versions of similar enterprises. In Zanzibar the Social Welfare Officer with the help of the Woman Education Officer and local people has tackled women's classes in literacy in the vernacular and English, in homecraft and home industries. Uganda is developing Women's Clubs, and Kenya has a plan for the development of adult education among women on a most comprehensive scale and hinging on the training of African women leaders.

270. Modern methods of transmitting information and thought, together with an increase of literacy, involve more people in questioning the relevance of old customs and traditions to what they so often call 'the new way of life'. An African woman no less than any other is interested in such things as clothes and labour-saving devices, and above all in ways of keeping her children alive and well. Here she will often be in conflict with the conservative element among women and the vested interest of the local practitioner. No arbitrary limits can be set to the influence of education and more and more women are developing interests beyond the confines of their houses and their families. Some are accompanying their husbands overseas for further training or are taking such training themselves. Individual women in their own right, but few as yet, from almost every East and Central African territory have been or are in England for education in universities, hospitals, or specialist colleges. Emancipated women are often resented, but there is a growing conviction among responsible Africans that the future of their peoples depends upon the existence of a sound proportion of educated women.

271. The growth of industrialized urban areas and the mechanization of rural life are creating opportunities for women and girls in occupations until recently unknown in Africa, and this will involve a regular supply of girls with a sufficient basic education to fit them for trained, for skilled, and for semi-skilled work. The importance of the growing urban population must not be overlooked. It may be as yet proportionately small, but it is an integral factor in the development of modern self-governing territories. The burden of change from country to town falls heavily on women. The country home, often small and overcrowded, had plenty of room round it and the country-woman's day follows a regular pattern of fetching, carrying, cooking, and work in the gardens. In towns the houses are crowded together in compounds, the traditional daily round is no longer possible, and women have to adapt themselves to new ways of living—an absence of home-grown food, cash economy, fluctuating costs of living, overcrowding, uniformity, and all the dangers and temptations as well as the advantages of town life. Women are in daily touch with a wide range of consumer goods hitherto unknown to them and they grow to want and to depend on store-bought cloth, sugar, salt, kerosene, the torch, the sewing-machine, and tinned foods.

272. There has been a remarkable increase both in the numbers of girls in school, and the length of time they stay and the standard they reach. Special factors affecting the wastage of girls are:

- (i) Fees—boys have priority.
- (ii) Poor teaching—lack of women teachers and the attitude of men teachers who either neglect girls in mixed classes or pay them too much of the wrong kind of attention.
- (iii) Non-recognition of the importance and value of educating girls both for themselves and for the benefit of the community.
- (iv) The need of girls' help in the home.
- (v) Only a short spell of school considered necessary for girls.
- (vi) A curriculum unrelated to the needs and future of girls and women.

273. The bulk of women who train as teachers are employed in the primary schools. It is generally agreed that, on balance, women teachers do better than men with small children, but at the same time they are needed to take the older girls for the first stages of housecraft, which may be only needlework but in some cases involves other aspects of homemaking. The professional life of the single woman teacher is short, and so girls in primary schools suffer from having too few women teachers and from lack of continuity in teaching. It is interesting to notice, however, that in every territory a small group of unmarried women teachers is emerging. The Roman Catholic Missions are particularly fortunate in their African Sisterhoods with an increasing number of qualified teachers. These are generally admirable and devoted women and their influence can be great on the whole life of the African girl. They provide continuity of selfless and dedicated service. They understand the needs of the girls and have the confidence of the people. They have their own Sisterhoods and Superiors and give an example of independence and responsibility.

274. Girls are only now reaching the middle and secondary school stage in appreciable numbers. This is a crucial phase of education, especially for girls, for it provides educated wives and mothers and the candidates for the professions of nursing and teaching. A great deal of thought needs to be given to the curriculum that should be provided for girls in the new middle schools. We suggest, therefore, that a working party should be set up in each territory to draw up a new integrated curriculum of studies for girls in the middle school, in which the study of household arts will be linked with work that is often dealt with more formally under the subject titles of, for example, Health, Civics, Art, Crafts, Biology, Mathematics, or Languages.

275. It is at and after the fourth year of school life that the special needs and interests of girls affect both the content of the curriculum and the methods of teaching and learning. Some well-intentioned people concerned with girls' education find themselves on the horns of a dilemma: on the one hand they recognize that parity of standard between boys and girls, if not already achieved, should be worked for; on the other hand, to encourage girls, they suggest soft options, especially in mathematics and science. This latter course is neither necessary nor desirable. Girls

are often neglected by men teachers in mixed classes, or badly taught by inadequately trained teachers in girls' schools and so appear less able in these subjects. In some cases these subjects may not be so useful for girls as alternative courses of comparable standard in more relevant subjects. There is general agreement that girls' education should be centred on homecraft. For many years to come almost every girl can look forward to marriage as her career whether she has qualified for another or not. The debatable point is at what stage and in what measure shall all the aspects of homecraft be included in the curriculum. There is great variety both in opinion and in practice. Most people agree upon the early introduction of needlework, both for its usefulness and for its popularity. As so few girls do more than complete the primary course there is an understandable desire to push other aspects into the curriculum regardless of the age and interests of the child. Where no age regulations are imposed, there are often groups of older girls who both benefit by it and enjoy it. An increasing number of European women qualified in domestic science are being recruited both to Government and mission service and homecraft is being taught with greater skill. Special mention should be made of the model houses in the school compounds round which this work is increasingly centred. Considerable ingenuity is being shown in furnishing these houses—often completely from predominantly local materials where these are available; furniture being constructed from bamboo, sisal poles, softwood, kitchen equipment from the ubiquitous and irreplaceable *debbi* and cigarette tin. A surprising number of live babies are always forthcoming for demonstration and experiment and survive and flourish on skilled bathing and specially prepared infant diet. Methods of cooking generally combine the traditional and the modern, and by popular demand simple European cookery is included in the courses in the middle and secondary schools.

276. The secondary schools for girls are still very few and those that are available are by no means full, especially in the top classes. In Nyasaland there are about twenty girls in the Blantyre Secondary School and a newly opened Roman Catholic Girls' School. The girls' school at Chipembe in Northern Rhodesia has been struggling along for about five years with less than thirty girls in all, and an attempt there to develop work of this standard among Roman Catholic girls has been disappointing. Tanganyika has concentrated all its senior secondary school work in one Government Girls' Secondary School in Tabora and the first small group of girls may try the School Certificate Examination in 1952. Zanzibar has a flourishing interracial girls' secondary school. In 1950 they sent in their first group of seventeen for the School Certificate Examination and fifteen passed. Kenya's one full secondary school for girls opened in 1948; its numbers now stand at thirty-eight, and its first group tries the School Certificate Examination in 1952; but before that individual girls were able to join the classes at the Alliance High School for Boys and the first girl passed the School Certificate Examination in 1948. In Uganda there are three girls' senior secondary schools and some girls are in the top classes of the co-educational schools at Budo and Nabbingo. Twelve girls in Uganda sat for the School Certificate Examination in 1951. These numbers are all comparatively small, but are a good augury for future development. What is needed is a sincere con-

viction of the necessity for full secondary education for an increasing number of girls. For the time being the numbers will be few, but the best incentive for progress in girls' education is to see girls reach the top of the tree. Women working at Makerere on equal terms with men, and women taking full academic and specialist qualifications overseas, will do more than anything else to hasten the pace and stabilize the standard of education. The achievements of Uganda and Kenya women in these fields show the greatness of the potentiality of East and Central African women.

277. As the number of schools grows, there will be increasing reliance on Africans, and more on men than on women in the first instance. This raises problems but also provides the answer. As more girls pass through the schools more will be available for training as teachers to come back into the schools. African women teachers are so badly needed that Europeans tend to divert girls into teacher training rather than offer them the opportunities of following their individual bent into higher education. The fairly large and promising top class of one middle school in an area where girls' education was expanding fast had never been told that some of them might qualify for full secondary education and perhaps get to Makerere. The European in charge commented that she had never thought of telling them because they were so badly needed for teacher training. It is certainly true that Africa will continue to need greater numbers of expatriate staff than they can afford or we can find, unless African women can serve their own people as highly qualified teachers in increasing numbers.

278. Professional training has been limited on the whole to teaching and nursing. The standard from which both of these groups are recruited is being quickly raised to a minimum of eight years of school life, with exceptions in the cases of less advanced areas. As has already been indicated, there are far fewer women than are needed in all courses, especially in the more advanced ones, and too great a number of the available students are taking courses at a low level. Emphasis has throughout this report been laid on the overriding importance of social training for both men and women. This is particularly relevant in the preparation of teachers and nurses and much thought should be given to the physical conditions and the mental climate in which they train. These young women have to be prepared for responsibility and leadership. They need privacy and standards of material living that will encourage the development of personality. The teacher or nurse who is still the pioneer in the field must be able to show these qualities if she is to make her full contribution to her people. Similarly the mental atmosphere in which she is trained should not be conducive to unquestioning obedience but rather to the development of intellectual conviction. In higher education adult relationships should be established, ahead, very often, of the ability of the women to take full advantage of them. We suggest therefore that, as qualities of responsibility and leadership are needed in the African women who will become leaders in their territories, the development of these qualities in all girls' schools and colleges will call for a very great advance in the material conditions of their life; so that by the provision of amenities for privacy and the expression of personality, as well as facilities for exercising initiative and

decision, a mental climate will be created that fosters independence.

279. Many of the following suggestions for the development of social training in girls' education are also to be found in the chapter dealing with boarding schools generally. They are included here in order to specify their special importance to girls.

280. The amenities in girls' boarding schools should provide an improved standard of housing and equipment in schools. It is a penny wise, pound foolish policy to recognize social training as an integral part of boarding school life and then to perpetuate the conditions in which it cannot be achieved. Very successful experiments have been made in boarding schools and colleges of replacing the dormitory by small houses, simple but improved versions of the kind of homes that are within the reach of most young people on marriage. Small groups share bedrooms and also have a common room. A kitchen is sometimes included, and although this has sometimes been criticized as extravagant in money, time, and fuel, there is often a loss of social training in the larger units. In whatever kind of living quarters a school or college is housed, encouragement should be given to each child to express her own individuality. Only rarely does one find pictures, photographs, books, flowers, or personal possessions on a locker or cupboard by each bed. Occasionally venturesome schools blossom into murals or hang a modest picture. It was pleasant to notice that the provision of some kind of bed was uniform throughout almost all East Africa. Central Africa is following suit more slowly. There is no validity in the argument that Africans do not use beds or are not ready for them or do not like them or that it is impossible to keep them clean and free from infestation. Evidence contradicts this, and it is part of the work of the school to raise social standards. Individual lockers or cupboards should be by each child's bed. Boxes can be kept in store-rooms, but a child should learn to cherish personal possessions. The needlework of the girls could be more generally used to provide curtains, table-covers, bedcovers, and wall bags. As soon as possible sheets and pillow-cases should be in general use, to supplement the supply of blankets. Gifts of pictures should be encouraged. One enterprising young warden in charge of a girls' residential block in a co-educational school had asked for a series of coloured prints from the British Council and each girl had selected the picture she wished to live with, and had put it up on the wall facing her bed. It is generally possible to find flowers or leaves and yet they are rarely seen in schools or colleges. A great deal of drabness could be enlivened by the generous use of colour.

281. On the whole, meals are taken in refectories (there are notorious exceptions) from tables with stools and simple individual dishes and spoons. The social behaviour of eating and drinking needs special care as girls who are at boarding schools are the *élite*; they will be the wives of educated men moving more and more in a modern, inter-racial society. These men need wives who can partner them with confidence on all occasions. It was pleasant to find some schools where African and European staff take some meals with the children, often each keeping to her own diet, but establishing by the way easy social relations.

282. It is encouraging to find that more European women educationalists are recognizing the need for leisure

and that more rarely does Satan apparently find work for idle fingers. Means must now be found to make that leisure creative. Reading for pleasure and relaxation must be encouraged, not just for adding words to a vocabulary or for academic improvement. It would be a pleasure to see a book left by a bed or to find girls lying under the trees absorbed in reading. More opportunities are available for games and netball is very popular. Matches are played and even leagues are working. At one school hockey was being vigorously if inaccurately played. The expert had been transferred and the game was being coached by someone who had never played but who ran about energetically reading the rules as she ran. A greater variety of outdoor games should be played and inter-school matches encouraged. Indoor games are conspicuous by their absence, yet the materials for these could be easily made by the children in school or by teachers in training and they can be of great incidental educational value, e.g. lexicon, snakes and ladders, and the games based on the 'Happy Families' principle but concerned with historical and geographical subjects. As so many schools have to depend on the hurricane and pressure lamp, games such as these are less a strain on the eyes than reading.

283. Schools should have lorries available for school journeys and allowances to make a wise use of them. Social studies, inter-school visits for games, debates, and dramatics are a vital part of girls' education in Africa at this stage.

284. There still lingers in some places the idea that girls' boarding institutions must be buried in some remote spot to isolate both school and staff from distracting influences. This has three dangers:

- (i) It puts the girls in social quarantine during term time, ignoring the different situation in the holidays.
- (ii) It isolates the girls from an environment which they should be studying at first hand.
- (iii) It makes an unnatural and difficult setting for staff, particularly Europeans.

Schools and training colleges should be sited in areas rich in opportunities for social study and social service though not so close to towns as to court distractions, but with adequate land for agriculture and games.

285. Opportunities are sometimes missed in the use of social contacts as a means of giving wise publicity to girls' education. It was surprising to find how many apparently informed Africans make ignorant comments on girls' education, charging it with being too academic and lacking all forms of useful homecraft. When girls' and boys' schools are near together or training colleges are adjacent, some activities could be shared. With this same need for social training constantly in mind, visits could be exchanged for debates and discussions, for dramatics and games competitions. Girls could prepare the food and the rooms and allow the boys to visit them to see homecraft training at first hand. The boys could turn their carpentry training to good account and help to equip the girls' residential blocks and model houses. In one territory the Government Girls' Boarding School is pitifully short of basic equipment—beds, tables, and chairs—and yet, at a nearby school, boys are turning out cheap, effective, and attractive pieces of furniture. A policy of school adoption might be tried and from this should follow a greater degree

of understanding by boys and girls of each other's education and of their complementary contribution to modern life.

286. In the bigger girls' schools and colleges there is need for a grant-aided post as matron or bursar for the welfare side of resident life if this is to play its full part in girls' education. In some cases such a post will be for a European, but increasingly for an African, an educated older woman, perhaps a widow, perhaps someone whose husband works locally and can have his house in the school compound.

287. Considerable importance is already attached to the provision of uniform and its variations for gardening, games, cooking, and cleaning. Too often, however, material has to be skimped and unsuitable and unbecoming patterns are followed. Cultivation of good taste and discrimination in selecting material and design are important factors in girls' education. Utility and economy must be considered, but more thought and imagination is needed in planning all garments, especially in emphasizing among students in training as teachers and nurses their approaching adulthood. Regional competitions judged by experts might serve as a stimulus to further thinking and might loosen the purse-strings for the extra half-yard of material that makes all the difference in the world to self-respect and confidence. In this work individual purchasing should be made possible within reason. Bulk buying may be an economy (although this is often disproved by events), but part of a girl's education will consist in selection within the limits of a budget.

288. We have had considerable evidence of the deep disappointment Africans feel when after years at a school run by Europeans, and Europeans whose vernacular is English, girls can hardly reply to questions, far less carry on a conversation. Observation has shown that women educationalists often do not use English regularly as the medium of intercourse outside the class-room. It is claimed that they have neither the time nor the patience to slow down conversation, comment, or command to the pace of English understanding when they know the vernacular. This happens even in senior secondary schools. It is the clear duty and privilege of the Europeans to give African girls a fluent, easy use of English, with a wide vocabulary, and this can only come from its general use throughout school life. This is one of the most cogent reasons for pressing the necessity of frequent leaves in England for mission women educationalists whose mother tongue is not English. It is equally important to emphasize that expatriates should learn the vernacular dominant in the area in which they live. Bilingualism of Africans and an approach to it by Europeans will make for less misunderstandings and fuller co-operation.

289. It is surprising to find in East Africa that relatively little use is being made of women teachers once they are married. This is in striking contrast to Zanzibar, where the wastage of women teachers is slight though a high percentage of teachers are married; and also to Central Africa, where married women are being employed wherever possible. Africa cannot afford to lose the services of its all too few professional women, although their general influence in the home is recognized and appreciated. Public opinion particularly among men will need modification. Every inducement should be offered to make the

return of married women easy and convenient. There should be alternatives of hourly rates or part-time pay on approved scales for those who cannot, for family reasons, return to full-time teaching. In double-session areas women could be employed half-time and thus spare the afternoon groups of children the impact of an already tired teacher. Women should be given special training for teaching young children either during their initial training or in subsequent in-service training courses.

290. Both as a recognition of their professional status and as a continuance of social training from school and training college, adequate housing must be provided for women teachers. This is happening progressively and either single or shared quarters are being built which can and do become model homes. On the other hand, in some places teachers are unpaid wardens and are given at the best a room, at the worst a curtained space in the girls' dormitory—giving neither privacy, comfort, nor a standard of home-making.

291. The section of the *Report on the Encouragement of Initiative in African Society* which dealt with women made a wide series of recommendations for action in the field of adult education. Here we will concentrate on a few.

292. Men exceed women, as a rule, in attendance at mass-education groups, because women are shy of attending public gatherings and are very occupied in the home. It is the general experience that when they do come they learn more quickly than men. In some mass-education experiments many part-time women teachers are used and do very well. This part-time teaching is a type of work especially suited to women who have some house-ties but are better educated than their neighbours, and the fact that the teaching is done by women encourages others to overcome their shyness.

293. There is a widespread desire among men and women for such courses—long and short, day and residential, full and part-time—and men are prepared to pay the fees for their women to attend. These courses are needed at every level, e.g. (i) among the illiterate and unschooled women in some less progressive areas as in the Southern Province of Nyasaland; (ii) among the girls leaving Standard IV at a ripe age and contemplating marriage; (iii) among the girls leaving school at Standard VIII or higher who are to be the wives of professional men and skilled technicians, senior clerks and executive officers in towns and areas of heavy concentrations of population. This is particularly important if full and wise use is to be made of the much improved type of home now being provided for the employees of the higher wage-earning group. It would be impossible and undesirable to suggest details, but interest and enjoyment must be keynotes of such courses. Staffing will be a major problem, and experience has shown that the married woman is far more effective than the spinster. The paid full-time organizer, who, for the more elementary courses, need not necessarily have specialist Domestic Science qualifications if she is practical and full of common sense, will find her work more effective if she can recruit voluntary help from married women where this is available.

294. The success of the Women's Institute movement in Kenya, where African women, often illiterate, have taken over the running of their institutes and rely on European help for guidance and specialist teaching, leads

one to believe that similar movements in other territories would work equally well. Societies such as the Red Cross are doing excellent work and should be given help to expand their activities among African women. Advantage should be taken by European and African women going to the United Kingdom, as they are doing now in increasing numbers, to study a variety of voluntary organizations with a view to fostering local versions of them, and to take such specialist courses as are being widely and generously offered by such organizations, so that they can plan and carry out progressive programmes on their return. In the growing number of Welfare and Community Centres mixed clubs should be tried where men can learn their side of home-making (carpentry, interior decoration, household repairs, &c.) and women improve theirs and then both can join forces for recreation and entertainment.

295. As the bulk of routine agricultural work is done by women, it is to them that propaganda for the improvement of agriculture should be directed. Pilot schemes of training should be devised at varying levels to prepare women demonstrators and agricultural advisers. This would provide opportunities for the older women, whose influence would be greater and who might well do it as a part-time job and carry their home responsibilities as well.

296. Economic development in Africa will open up new occupations for women, and women want a wide choice of careers on leaving school. The next educational development for girls should be trades schools, and in such areas as the copper-belt in Northern Rhodesia, in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga, Jinja, Kampala, or Nairobi, such schools should be based on the following principles:

- (i) They should draw their students from girls who live in the towns or who come from areas where the skill learned could be turned to profit.
- (ii) They should be day schools, but hostels should be run in connexion with them, and this would be an admirable piece of social work for missions to undertake.
- (iii) They should aim at a minimum standard of entry after the eighth year of school life, but might have to accept lower standards to begin with and raise the standard as the demand outruns available vacancies.
- (iv) The skills offered should be determined by the market demand. Careful preparatory work would have to be done among potential employers to accept women for work hitherto done by men.
- (v) Technical training could be offered in:
 - (a) Dress design and making, tailoring; lingerie and dress accessories; upholstery and weaving.
 - (b) Typing; shorthand; office routine, simple accountancy—for this a high standard of English would be essential.
 - (c) Cookery—European; invalid; canteen.
 - (d) Training in institutional management, especially for older women.

Provision along these lines is in fact already envisaged at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and has been proposed in Uganda. The establishment of trades schools will lead to a number of developments, including, for example:

- (a) Employers accredited and approved by the trades schools will be able to take women apprentices if they live in the vicinity.

- (b) Home industries can be fostered, but there should be a scheme for central marketing and all goods should pass a test and bear a hall-mark. This would probably lead to the development of co-operatives.
- (c) Canteens will follow the expansion of light industries and industrial and commercial undertakings.
- (d) Hospitals, schools, and other institutions will employ trained cooks.
- (e) Trained married women can set up cafés and canteens at bus stops and improve the quality of food sold.
- (f) Trained married women will be able to start cake-shops in towns or at strategic stops on the roadside.
- (g) Schools, hospitals, hostels, and other institutions will be able to employ trained matrons and wardens.

297. Such training is essentially urban, but is bound to attract girls from the country. The available places in the trades schools and the occupational vacancies afterwards will be sufficiently few to refute the charge that will inevitably be made of encouraging a drift to the towns. Social problems, however, will inevitably arise. There has long been a need in populated areas for transit hostels for women travellers. If missions or organizations like the Y.W.C.A. are given financial aid towards the establishment of hostels for trades-school students and can organize them on sound but flexible lines, it will be possible to provide accommodation for occasional travellers and for other women too—those who are already qualified and have jobs but nowhere satisfactory to live. This will make it easier to post trained teachers to urban areas.

298. For a long time to come educational expansion among women and girls will depend upon the expatriate, whether she is employed by Government or mission. Women now have to be recruited with an increasing variety of specialist qualifications. Missions do not always find it easy to maintain a flow of people with the necessary specialization to fulfil the educational work they have undertaken and the expatriates employed by Government are increasing at the same time. All are engaged in serving Africans through education regardless of the agency to which they belong and there is a need for great flexibility in using qualified staff. Where missions cannot find staff on mission terms with relevant qualifications they should make use of mission associates so that educational efficiency does not suffer, particularly at the secondary school level.

299. Schools and training colleges must be kept abreast of modern educational development. This can be done only if the teachers have first-hand experience and opportunities for discussions with colleagues. This is virtually impossible for those posted in isolated areas with few if any chances of travelling to see other schools or receiving visitors. We therefore suggest that in order to deepen the contribution of European women to African education the following practical steps should be taken to assist their work:

- (a) Annual grants for travelling should be given to enable visits to be exchanged by women engaged in education in isolated areas.
- (b) Short tours should be arranged to ensure continuity of staffing and to keep staff abreast of educational development.

- (c) Regular in-service training should be provided in the United Kingdom, especially for foreign women educationalists holding grant-aided posts.
- (d) No grant-aided post should be held by a foreign woman educationalist unless she has an excellent command of English and uses it as the language of daily life in the school or college.
- (e) A larger number of travelling Women Education Officers should be recruited to act as liaison between practitioners, to moderate standards, and to stimulate enterprising work. They should give general guidance and act as specialist consultants over wider areas than their own administrative districts.

300. Research should accompany educational development to avoid making mistakes through either ignorance or misunderstanding of local conditions. Research might profitably be undertaken on such topics as:

- (a) The effect upon standards of living of girls who have followed homecraft courses at schools and training colleges.
- (b) The extent and influence of puberty rites and initiation ceremonies upon the attitude to the education of girls and the use the girls can make of education.
- (c) The occupational outlets for girls and the availability of markets for home industries.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 18

RECOMMENDATION NO. 48

We recommend that in order to reduce the present large disparity between the relative numbers of girls and boys in all school classes except the first two, bursaries open to girls only should be offered to cover the whole or part of the fees due in respect of the attendance of girls.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 49

We recommend that every possible practical step should be taken to increase the recruitment of girls for the profession of teaching, especially of those who intend to teach in the primary school, so that the proportion of women teaching in these schools is steadily increased.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 50

We recommend that a working party should be set up in each territory to draw up a new integrated curriculum of studies for girls in the middle school in which the study of household arts will be linked with work that is often dealt with more formally under the subject-titles of, for example, Health, Civics, Art, Crafts, Biology, Mathematics, or Languages.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 51

We recommend that, as qualities of responsibility and leadership are needed in the African women who will become leaders in their territories, for the development of these qualities in all girls' schools and colleges a very great advance should be made in the material conditions of their life so that by the provision of amenities for privacy and the expression of personality, as well as facilities for exercising initiative and decision, a mental climate will be created that fosters independence.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 52

We recommend that every inducement should be offered to married women who are trained teachers to make their return to teaching easy, convenient, and efficient.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 53

We recommend that priority should now be given to providing trades and technical training for women and girls in the fields of needlecraft, catering, institutional management, and secretarial arts.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 54

We recommend that special adult courses should be devised for the wives of Africans going overseas for further education, and for the wives of married teachers taking courses of initial or in-service training.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 55

We recommend that in order to deepen the contribution of European women to African education the following practical steps should be taken to assist their work:

- (a) Annual grants for travelling should be given to enable visits to be exchanged by women engaged in education in isolated areas.
- (b) Short tours should be arranged to ensure continuity of staffing and to keep staff abreast of educational development
- (c) Regular in-service training should be provided in the United Kingdom, especially for foreign women educationalists holding grant-aided posts.
- (d) No grant-aided post should be held by a foreign woman educationalist unless she has an excellent command of English and uses it as the language of daily life in the school or college.
- (e) A larger number of travelling Women Education Officers should be recruited to act as liaison between practitioners, to moderate standards, and to stimulate enterprising work. They should give general guidance and act as specialist consultants over wider areas than their own administrative districts.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 56

We recommend that research projects into problems affecting women and girls should accompany and influence educational developments.

19. THE RECRUITMENT, CONDITIONS OF SERVICE, AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

301. Most of the territories in East and Central Africa have worked out careful development plans for education under which they have been operating for varying periods. These plans have contained estimates of the number of teachers needed to replace wastage, and to provide for the expansion of education envisaged under the plans. In considering these provisions for expansion the first question to be asked is whether the general pace of educational advance is fast enough to meet the needs of African society. This question is considered elsewhere, and the conclusion reached is that the pace of advance must be considerably increased by special efforts. Another question concerns the quality of the teachers, and in this connexion we desire to urge that at the earliest possible moment the grade of teacher recruited after only six years at school and often able to teach only in the local vernacular should be eliminated. We also think it necessary to urge that every effort should be made to up-grade existing vernacular teachers by refresher courses and by offering special inducements to them to qualify in English. It will also be necessary to provide a third year of training in handicrafts, domestic science, and in agriculture for existing teachers in order to qualify them to teach these subjects, particularly in the new middle schools. We suggest, therefore:

- (a) that every territory should make a revised estimate of the number of teachers needed for educational advance in each of the next ten years;
- (b) that the training of teachers after only six years schooling should be discontinued;
- (c) that every effort should be made to up-grade existing vernacular teachers, particularly by refresher courses;
- (d) that a third year of training should be provided in handicraft, domestic science, and agriculture in order to provide sufficient teachers of these subjects, particularly in the new middle schools.

302. In any educational system there is a time-lag of about ten years between the time when a child enters the system and the time when he may be available as a teacher to take part in expansion. In an expanding system there is generally a shortage of teachers and education should have a higher priority than any other social service in order that the schools may produce the teachers necessary to expand the educational system as quickly as possible. If political and economic advance goes ahead of educational progress the only way of meeting the need for teachers is by way of some special scheme of Emergency Training of Teachers. After considering this question very carefully in all the territories the conclusion finally reached is that given the right conditions of service, all the teachers needed for the desirable pace of advance in African education could be found and would be recruited for the schools in the normal way. There are at present shortages of teachers in most territories and particularly of certain grades, but these shortages would almost certainly be overcome if the conditions of service offered to teachers

were sound. A good deal of work needs to be done here and should be done on its merits and quite apart from the effect which it will certainly have on stimulating recruitment to the profession.

303. It has been the very strong impression formed from many meetings with teachers and schoolchildren who intend to take up teaching that, in fact, there is at present a great desire on the part of many Africans to play a part in the educational progress of their own people. The motives for this may be mixed, but there is a generous measure of sincere altruism and religious belief. Africans want education in order that they may be brought nearer to equality with Europeans, and they also realize that education means material and spiritual enlightenment for their compatriots.

304. Among some peoples this zeal for education and so to enter the teaching profession is enormously strong. This makes it all the more necessary that unsatisfactory conditions of service should not deter individuals or frustrate genuine conviction among groups of Africans.

305. Where the supply of teachers falls short of the target figures decided upon to fulfil a development plan it is often due to the inability of training colleges to produce their quota, and this in turn is often due to their difficulties in recruiting European staff. This means that for the time being there has to be some kind of rationing of available teachers. This is difficult for two reasons: missions are reluctant to see teachers trained by their colleges employed by other missions or in Government schools. There is in fact a need for the development of a wider professional loyalty to a territorial education service than at present exists. And then for tribal, language, and economic reasons it is natural that teachers should want to be employed near their homes. Nevertheless Education Departments tackle this problem as fairly as they can and in some cases too fairly, because it is desirable that where there is great keenness on education and where local bodies are prepared to put up buildings or sums of money and parents to keep children regularly and continuously at school, progressive areas should not be held back to the pace of the more backward.

306. The factors affecting recruitment to the profession adversely were generally agreed to be:

- (i) the unequal treatment of teachers in training in comparison with other professions,
- (ii) unsatisfactory terms of service;
- (iii) unsatisfactory salary scales and pension schemes.

307. It is the general but not universal practice to charge no fees for teacher-training courses and to provide a certain amount of equipment free, but often no pocket-money is paid to students. Other Government departments offering training to students of similar ability usually offer in addition pocket-money of the order of 50s. a month. As a result there is a danger that the abler students are attracted to other professions. Some territories pay the cost of transport from a student's home to his training college but others do not, and in such cases

the considerable personal costs involved deter poor students from embarking on a course of training. Women students particularly are often deterred from entering upon training because the journey to the training college is long and hazardous. Some girls in fact walk scores of miles on their way to the colleges. Some territories organize escorted parties to and from a college, and this careful organization is an undoubted inducement to both men and women and particularly women to enter training. We suggest therefore that the financial and material conditions which apply to intending teachers should be on a basis of equality with those which apply to similar trainees in other Government departments, and that the transport of students, particularly women students, to and from a training college should be a matter of careful organization and the development of a scheme of financial assistance.

308. Some territories are considering the setting up of a Unified Teaching Service to include all teachers employed in grant-aided schools, whether mission or Government, and some territories have the necessary legislation now before them. It is most desirable that such a service should be instituted in all territories without delay and that all teachers in grant-aided schools should be employed under contract. This contract of employment, which should set out conditions of engagement, employment and dismissal, sick pay and pensions, should be identical for mission and Government employed teachers except that missions might, with the approval of the Department of Education, add clauses to the contract which refer to specific agreements on religious matters. At present much unhappiness and feelings of insecurity prevail because of the absence in the past of contracts of service. In a Unified Teaching Service, salary scales should be uniform in Government and mission schools, although mission teachers may remain the employees of the mission. The majority of teachers employed by missions expressed a preference for the actual payment of salary to be made by the Department of Education which in fact finds the money, but European mission authorities feel that such a system would so weaken their authority that payment of salaries by them would have to be made a condition of their continued co-operation with Government.

309. There is at present some uneasiness in the teaching profession at the arbitrariness with which teachers and especially heads of schools are transferred from one school to another. So long as there is a general shortage of teachers there is not likely to be any grave abuse of authority here, but instances were encountered in which a head of a school was transferred to a backward school as soon as his energy had produced an obvious improvement in his present school. A transfer is costly for a teacher, and if he is transferred to suit the convenience of his employer he should be reimbursed for out-of-pocket expenses.

310. The discrepancy in salary scales of teachers and those which apply to other civil servants of similar qualifications and length of training causes a lower grade of candidate to enter the teaching profession. In Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Somaliland, and Kenya teachers' salaries are equated as nearly as possible with the corresponding posts in the civil service, but in Uganda and Zanzibar they are not, and it is in these two territories that there is the greatest evidence of discontent among the teachers. We suggest that where special cost-of-living

allowances are made to civil servants in a particular area, the corresponding allowances should be made to teachers, and the arrangements for sick-pay to teachers should also be the same as for civil servants of corresponding rank.

311. There is a considerable variation in the arrangements made for a percentage deduction from salary for housing and sometimes furniture provided by an employer. The responsibility of employers for the housing of teachers needs careful definition and a precise scheme of salary deductions should be applied throughout a Unified Teaching Service.

312. In some territories the salary scales for Africans are expressed as a fraction of European salary scales. It would be much more appropriate if there were a single salary scale applicable to African and European alike and Europeans were paid an additional expatriation allowance.

313. Pension schemes for teachers do not exist at all in some territories, while in others pensions can be earned by teachers in Government and local authority schools, but not by those in mission schools. In some instances the latter come under provident schemes which result in the payment of a lump sum on retirement. Retirement does not present an African with the same economic problem as it does in most European countries because many African teachers own a small plot of land. Moreover, many African teachers leave the service before they reach pensionable age. Nevertheless, we urge that in order to secure a Unified Teaching Service with conditions comparable with those of the civil service, a contributory pension scheme should be applicable to all. Many Africans have told us that such a scheme would encourage both recruitment and long service in the profession.

314. In one territory, Uganda, a difference is made in the salary scale of teachers who followed a postgraduate course of training at Makerere College before 1947 and those who completed their training after 1947. The difference in salary is sufficient to cause resentment by itself, but resentment chiefly comes from those who feel that to be called an 'Old Type' teacher carries with it a stigma. Such differences do not exist in the other professions trained at Makerere College and cannot be justified for teachers.

315. When territories revise salary scales they should give consideration to the need for awarding a responsibility allowance for the head of a school. We met examples of schools where the head was actually getting less than some of his assistants. It would help to make the position of a head teacher what it should be if he were given a responsibility allowance equivalent to a single increment, for example, above the maximum of the scale in the case of small schools and two increments, for example, in the case of large schools.

316. In the last few years Development Plans have appeared in all the territories which presage great structural change. Everywhere the old idea of education as a continuous process of imparting information in regular yearly blocks, to be repeated if not absorbed, is giving place to the idea of different types of schools related to the needs of the child and the needs of society. Great administrative changes have begun and are well under way. To match this there is now needed a similar advance in the professional training of the teachers for these new schools.

317. In this century great advances have been made as a result of researches into child development and methods

of learning. In Europe and America this knowledge has already begun to revolutionize the teaching in the schools. As soon as it spreads to the training colleges of Africa it will have the same effect. The new administrative changes and the new syllabuses of study call for the production of a new type of teacher and this puts the training colleges in a key position in relation to development. Training colleges and demonstration centres should be ahead of general school practice so that it is even regarded as a healthy thing if serving teachers are critical of the new ideas that recently qualified teachers bring away with them from their training colleges.

318. This new life is already springing up in some of the training colleges, and its vital spirit could be felt particularly at Dornasi in Nyasaland, at Mwanza in Tanganyika, and at Kagumo in Kenya. It is worthy of remark that these colleges are all of a size that is comparable with training colleges in Europe and America and are able to include on their staff not only men and women with long experience of Africa but also young lecturers who bring with them the fruits of recent experience in Europe. Here and there at small colleges a recently qualified training college lecturer is doing work which stands out like a light in darkness; but chiefly because of the number and wide scatter of small training colleges these isolated efforts do not add up to make any impact upon conservative practice.

319. If the new advances proposed in Development Plans are to mean anything more than mere changes of name and structure the training colleges must embark upon a radical forward movement. The most influential schools in the new plans will be the middle schools. If these are well planned and staffed they may in ten years change the educational picture in Africa. The secondary schools have in the past been mainly staffed by Europeans, trained in Europe, who have passed on a great many of the excellent traditions of the European grammar school. The middle schools give hope of a new start. They will be free from the clerical bias of academic education, selective in character, and may send a new, practical, and educated stream of products into African society. But if they are to do this the training colleges must deliberately try to train a new type of teacher for these new schools.

320. The work of the primary school teacher is beset by many difficulties. Difficulties of language; of lack of suitable buildings and equipment; of large classes and of rapid wastage. Advance here will not be easy, yet because the primary school is the most backward part of the school system at present (unlike its European and American counterpart), a very great effort at change is needed by the training colleges, for unless the early foundations are sound all the rest of the educational edifice will be unstable. The character of the change needed in the primary school has already been sketched in Chapter 11. The changes proposed there must first find expression in the colleges where primary school teachers are trained. Education should be active and not passive. The class-room situation should be 'pupil-centred' and not 'teacher-dominated'. The release of the pupil's eager desire for knowledge and skill must be sufficient to carry him through the drudgery of repetition. Imitativeness should be balanced by creative work. The quiet hum of group conversation should be more usual than silence or the chanting of a whole class in unison. Discussion should

replace question and answer by teacher and pupil. Work by pairs or small groups or individuals should be more usual than work by classes. Real-life experience should always be given priority over easily examined book-knowledge.

321. Such changes as these will call for a great deal of rethinking of the courses provided in training colleges and we should like to add our own suggestions here to the best we have met in African colleges. But we see little hope of radical change until the professional training of teachers is lifted up to a new seriousness and dignity. This does not seem to us to be possible if the training of teachers is carried out in the main at a very large number of small scattered training centres which are sometimes little more than annexes to schools. There is a need for both administrative and curriculum changes in teacher-training, but there are also many difficulties in the way of such changes. We should like to examine these difficulties as fairly as we can and also make as many constructive suggestions as we can for their resolution.

322. Institutions in which teachers are trained have, in the past, usually been called Training Centres or Jeanes Schools. If the training of teachers is to acquire new status and dignity we think the title Training College should always be used; those who teach in training colleges should be termed lecturers and those who study there termed students; rooms should be termed lecture-rooms not class-rooms, and the atmosphere should be that of a university rather than a school.

323. The highest grade of teacher is trained at the Institute of Education at Makerere College, the University College of East Africa, where he receives at least two years of university studies and one year of professional studies before qualification. Many of the teachers trained at this institute were seen at work, and for those we had high praise for their professional quality and also of the sense these students seemed to have of the wider responsibilities of the teacher to the school and the community. A high proportion, particularly of the recent graduates of this institute were trying out new ideas in education and showed a fresh and lively approach to their work.

324. Teachers who will be expected to teach mainly through the medium of English are often trained in three types of training college corresponding to three grades of recruitment. There are those who are recruited after 8 years of school life, after 10 years, and after 12 years of school life and the passing of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination. In Kenya, for example, these centres are called K.T.1, T.2, and T.3 Centres respectively. Finally there are the so-called Vernacular Teachers (at T.4 Centres in Kenya), recruited after six years of school life, who have often had only two or even one year of English teaching, sometimes not continued at the training college, and who teach the lowest classes through the medium of the vernacular. There are many disadvantages in this multiplicity of grades. At each stage, among those selected for a particular grade, are the throw-outs who cannot achieve further education and for whom therefore teaching becomes a *pis aller*. The series of examination hurdles needed for selection imposes on the pupil an examination mentality that leads to cramming, memorizing, and a general aversion to practical work as a distraction from examination preparation. The aim must

surely be the steady simplification of this highly stratified system of teacher-training. If English were introduced in the second class of the primary school, the low vernacular grade of teacher could and should be eliminated, for it even degrades the character of vernacular teaching itself. This grade should and will be the first to go as all territories recognize. Then, as the Development Plans slowly produce more secondary school leavers, the aim should be to eliminate next the recruitment at the tenth year of school life and to recruit only at the end of the middle school cycle of studies or at the end of the senior secondary school cycle for, as has been stated elsewhere, a 'creaming' in the middle of a cycle of studies is disruptive of its life.

325. Although at present some colleges train teachers of more than one grade, there is at present too much training in separate colleges. In the next section it is argued that the minimum size for the efficient organization of a training college is 120 and a better size is 200. If the concentration of training of several grades in one college would achieve numbers of this order it should be attempted more fully with greater conviction.

326. In Kenya an experiment has been carried out on a reasonably large scale in the development of a Composite Training Centre where teachers, and agricultural and health assistants are all trained together in the same institution. The advantages of such a composite centre in theory are obvious. Even if the teachers' group is a 'single' stream (in total number 60), the total number of all students will be 180, and this is quite enough on which to found a strong community life with student self-government. The narrowness inherent in the training of teachers in isolation disappears and the centre begins to show some advantages of life in a university. The association of teaching, agriculture, and health does much to break down the prevailing academic and theoretical tendency of school work. The close association of lecturers in education, agriculture, and health is both a broadening experience for the lecturers themselves and should also make possible an economy of staffing. The provision of farm-land, animals, and medical equipment greatly enriches the teacher-training on the material side. Agriculture and health assistants trained in such an institution become aware of the educational character of their work and are led to rely more on the intelligent co-operation of the people and the schools than on coercive methods to achieve their ends. Although the Composite Centre is still a new institution it was possible to see that all of these advantages were on the way to realization and the Composite Centre seemed to possess such clear advantage over all other types as to suggest that if the experimental period continues to demonstrate these advantages, as many of such centres as possible should be established. At the centre there was a very vigorous community life, with a useful Students' Council and the multiplicity of student societies that marks the adult type of educational society. The immaturity and school-like atmosphere of the small centre had vanished. On the material side very much more was available to students in the way of books, apparatus, assembly hall and stage, wireless, piano, and games equipment than was to be found at any but the exceptional and large training colleges. The teachers in training were clearly thinking of their future work more in terms of a community service than in terms of examination results. The healthy vigorous forward-looking life of the com-

posite centre was in striking contrast to the cloistered, immature, and static atmosphere of many small training colleges for teachers.

327. At present, except in Uganda, the length of professional training is not more than two years, but some territories are considering the possibility of increasing this period to three years. Much needs to be done to raise the quality of the teaching profession, but the general lengthening of the professional course is not, at the present juncture, the way to do so. The aim should be to recruit trainees with the best school-leaving qualification possible. Any extra general education ought to be given in schools. To do anything else would be still further to confuse the functions of school and training college. Moreover, at present the upper levels of school education are better staffed with suitably qualified teachers of general education than are training colleges with lecturers of high professional knowledge and experience. Any extra general education that can be afforded should therefore be given in the schools for the time being. The only exception to this should be the provision of third-year supplementary courses in agriculture, domestic science, and handicrafts to meet the immediate need of specialist teachers in the new middle schools.

328. The size of training colleges is to a large extent determined by the history of the beginning of training. During a pioneer period it was inevitable that the training of teachers should be thought of as a prolongation of secondary school studies (indeed in one territory the two years of training are still referred to as Standard IX and Standard X). The association of secondary school and training college has some advantages. These are:

- (a) The lecturers have long previous knowledge of the students and their aptitudes.
- (b) The general education of teachers in training beyond Standard VIII gives an intellectual stimulus to teachers and pupils in the lower standards.

Against these advantages must be set a weightier list of disadvantages.

- (c) The long personal knowledge of the pupil does not always contribute to his personal development towards a mature, self-reliant, adult teacher. His personal relationship towards his teachers tends to be that of child to teacher. A paternal attitude of teachers towards students was sometimes encountered that was clearly acting as an emotional clog to development.
- (d) The whole atmosphere and organization of the small training college is that of a school, and not a college in which young men and women, even if still adolescent, are treated in the adult way which most helps the adolescent to become an adult. Uniforms are usually still worn. Students are organized in classes and work usually as a class under close supervision. They are given little responsibility for their own studies; nor are many periods of private study allowed; nor freedom to select between optional courses, nor the opportunity of organizing their own time-tables. In an isolated instance, the year's training course consisted of 900 periods of class-room work (composed largely of copying notes and then learning them by heart) and only 50 periods of

practical work. In the same college the last few weeks of the course were devoted to the learning by heart of model answers to examination questions. It is not surprising that teachers trained by such methods reproduce the same deadly process when they in turn come to teach.

- (e) The lecturers in training colleges are part-time teachers in the secondary school and their teaching there has to be fitted in to its scheme of work. This greatly limits their ability to supervise teaching practice. As a result, teaching practice tends to be organized to suit their needs and generally this means small isolated bits of practice instead of the long block periods in which alone a student can come to feel the burden of teaching responsibility or to know his pupils as individuals.
- (f) Teachers who are going to teach in rural areas ought to be trained in a place where a small farm and the study of the rural environment give a strong rural bias to the work of the schools. In some secondary schools no agricultural work is done and the bookish and academic tone of the school gives quite the wrong note to the college as a place for the training of teachers.
- (g) Secondary school teachers tend, sometimes unconsciously, to pass on as teaching methods those which are suited to the academic studies of the secondary school. Verbal and textbook methods are those used in schools and for children to whom they are unsuited.
- (h) The social life of students in training is inadequate.

329. The small training college has certain advantages over the large. These are:

- (a) Individual tuition and close personal contacts are easier to arrange.
- (b) Attendance does not mean long and difficult journeys which involve hardship, especially for girls.
- (c) Teaching practice is easier to arrange for small numbers.
- (d) Teachers who need teaching practice in the lower classes of the primary school can be given it in their own vernacular schools.
- (e) Teachers who know their own tribal traditions can be trained to teach within their tribal region.
- (f) Mission colleges can continue the religious education of the student in the best way.

As against these advantages, small colleges suffer from very serious disadvantages. These are:

- (g) The contacts of the student are with a very limited number of adult minds.
- (h) Teacher-training calls for specialist knowledge of child development, teaching methods, school organization, as well as the various subject disciplines, and any centres with a staff of less than five will be unable to provide a balanced curriculum; ideally the staff should be nearer to fifteen or twenty.
- (i) A small college cannot afford the large library of general and professional books that should be read by students with the result that there is much oral teaching, copying from blackboards, and other forms of 'passive' education.

- (j) A teacher in training should experience the development of intellect and character which only takes place when he is a member of an adult community of students, with self-governing societies of its own. Half his education will come from the striking of mind against mind, from service rendered to a debating society or football team, and from the social life which is normally so quickly engendered in the British training college. Such a social life and such mutual education flourishes best in a community which numbers 120 or more.
- (k) In a small college it is very difficult to find time for the staff to engage in research work, yet the student who is aware that such work is going on will take a research attitude into his teaching and realize that education is a lifelong process. There are many research problems awaiting study in which the staff of a large college might usefully secure the co-operation of its students. Such problems are, for example, the causes of wastage or the permanency of literacy after four years of school life, or a controlled study of teaching methods.
- (l) In any adult training a syllabus should hold out the possibility of optional courses so that a student is partly responsible for the choice of his own course of study; but such flexibility is only possible if the staff is reasonably large.
- (m) In a small college loyalties will be engendered to groups such as the tribe or the denomination which are very valuable in themselves but which may prevent the development of a professional loyalty to the service of education in a territory; such loyalty is more likely to develop if training colleges are of a reasonable size and contain a good cross-section of the territorial community.
- (n) Tribal jealousy is a cause of friction in Africa and the small college encourages a narrowness of outlook.

In balancing the advantages against the disadvantages, the disadvantages set out under (j) and (m) are so important that two questions call for very careful consideration. The first is:

- (1) What is the minimum size of college in which the advantages can be secured? and the second
- (2) How can the disadvantages of the large college be overcome?

The answer to the first is probably that a minimum target to aim at is the college admitting not less than 60 students each year, so giving in a two-year course a college community of at least 120. The minimum full-time staff for such a college would be 6, or with more generous staffing 10, and such a number realizes some of the advantages of the large college. It might be a good target to take if it were aimed to concentrate colleges so that no colleges were below this standard by 1955. The answer to the second question must be set out under several headings:

- (a) It is true that in the small college close individual attention can be given but our impression was that this was often too close. On the other hand, if at a large college a tutorial system is adopted by which small groups of ten or twelve meet a tutor regularly this not only mitigates the rigours of class teaching

but provides for close personal contacts which are not repressive of individuality because they are set in the framework of a wider community.

- (b) The provision of travelling warrants and the payment of the travelling expenses of students from their homes to the college has done much to make it easy for students from remote places to reach the colleges without difficulty. This assistance has only just been given and the machinery at present creaks a little, but in time it should remove any obstacles that still exist.
- (c) Teaching practice, in a country of scattered schools, is more difficult to arrange for large than small numbers of students, and this is therefore a point that has been examined with great care, as a result of which it appears that there are no difficulties which, given the will, cannot be overcome. One Government college of 150 students in an area of scattered schools already arranges satisfactorily supervised teaching practice without difficulty. Another Government college which is designed to be a four-stream college, i.e. with 200 students, does not anticipate finding it difficult to arrange teaching practice. Education officers, inspectors, and supervisors co-operate in helping with supervision; students are posted, where suitable, to their home region, head teachers are coached in the work of supervision; or groups of students with a junior member of staff sometimes camp out in a region where a small group of rural schools provides good practice. In these and other ways the difficulties are overcome. This point about supervision is, in fact, one which can easily be overstressed. If students are well prepared for their practice and if there is a good follow-up afterwards, most of the lessons to be learnt from teaching practice can be grasped without over-much supervision.
- (d) It was stated to us on several occasions that children in Standard I learn a second language so quickly that lack of the vernacular in the teacher would not be a hindrance if teaching practice were taken after the first three months of the school year.
- (e) There are some advantages in keeping a student within his own tribal area, but, on the other hand, a mixture of tribal backgrounds enriches the community life of the larger college and greatly widens the outlook of the individual. As communications improve and there is more movement of peoples, the teacher who has not moved outside his tribal area will be at a great disadvantage.
- (f) There is no doubt that the strongest religious influence on the student in training will be found in a denominational college. The missions should therefore concentrate their own colleges. In the past the training of different grades of teachers has always been organized at quite separate colleges, but there are some advantages in training different grades in the same college and the missions should experiment with such a solution of the denominational aspect of this problem.

330. So long as it is necessary to recruit teachers before they have had an adequate general education it will be necessary to continue to combine general and professional

education in the standard two-year course. The effect of this, however, has been to produce the evil, until recently found in many English training colleges, of an overcrowded time-table of class periods. In such a regimen the student has little time for private study, for reflection, for reading, and for the growth of personality in a community. In a training college the main emphasis should be on professional training and the development of personality. The student has the rest of his life in which to add to his knowledge and skill, but he will probably only have one chance of living as a member of a student community and anything that debilitates this life needs to be carefully watched. As far as possible new knowledge and skills should be acquired as a result of the study of teaching methods. Projects, for example, can be used both as a way of studying a teaching technique and as a way of acquiring new knowledge. Where new subject-matter is studied, as in geography or science, it is important that the methods of study used should be practical, based on individual or group work, and make great use of visual aids and the approach from real-life situations. There are, however, two departments of education in which it is very important to develop the student's own knowledge and skill. These are in (a) linguistic studies, and (b) aesthetic studies. Everything should be done to improve spoken and written English, and it is important that a group of students should make a more comprehensive study of a vernacular so that the teachers of the vernacular in the schools are not just the least-educated teachers. Art, music, crafts, dancing, and dramatics are also all very important for the teacher, for in his school life he has probably suffered because of the lack of time given to these subjects, yet his power as a teacher will depend much upon the possession of a lively imagination and a healthy emotional life.

331. A balance between general education, professional training, and participation in a rich community life should be the aim of every training college curriculum. This balance may be upset unless the examination arrangements for students are sound. The student arrives at his college from an educational training in which continued education and so success in life seems to depend wholly on success in passing examinations every two years. He will almost certainly go back to school to be merely an examination examiner unless this baleful cycle is broken somewhere. The place to break it is in the training college by a reform both of the curriculum and of the examination of students.

332. The professional training in a large number of colleges is related to the study of a limited number of textbooks on Principles of Education, Teaching Method, School Organization, and Psychology. These books are of three main types. Some are written by educators with long experience of Africa, some are written for training colleges in India, and some are produced by mission educators with a Christian emphasis. All three types suffer from disadvantages as textbooks, though all would be valuable as books of reference. Books written by African educators with a long enough experience to write with a sure touch of African education are also likely to be written in the educational idiom of twenty years ago and are out of date. Indian books are usually more modern in their approach but not relevant to Africa, and mission books generally have a sectarian outlook. So far as reading is concerned for

students in training, a good reference library will be much more useful than any textbooks. What is needed is the provision at each college of a good reference library of modern books written about school life and teaching techniques in America and England. Students may need help in adapting these ideas to the African scene, but such a creative study will be valuable for its own sake. During the course, Library Periods should constantly be used in this way. A written problem-assignment of adaptation should be set which involves the reading of a group of recent books and a practical experiment in the demonstration school on the application of the ideas to Africa. Such a library should contain, for example, several copies of all the H.M.S.O. Ministry of Education pamphlets. At the outset a territorial Department of Education might issue a list of, say, 100 recent books on education to form the core of a library and follow this up with a similar list each year.

333. At this stage we should again emphasize the importance of training colleges as the centres of experiment and research. When new syllabuses are being devised and before they are put into general use, they should be given a trial period for at least one year in the practising and demonstration schools of selected training colleges. Thus, the ideas and experience of the practising teachers, the trainers of teachers and their students, and the supervisors of schools will be brought to bear on a major event in the education of a territory.

334. A very much more practical character could be given to the training college course by making experience the starting-point of work rather than books. The suggestions given below should help to this end.

(a) The study of 'Principles of Education', at the present stage of English studies in Africa, should be abandoned. It is too much a study of the 'bloodless ballet of disembodied categories'.

(b) The textbook study of child-psychology should be given up and in its place each student should be asked to compile a careful case-study of one individual child during the period of teaching practice. The preparation for this work and the discussion afterwards in groups of the records produced should be the basis of child study work. In addition, some colleges may be able to run small nursery schools and play centres, perhaps for the children of pre-school age of their teachers. If a member of staff has knowledge of nursery school methods, she can be assisted in this work by part-time helpers from among students who have been trained in the psychology of the nursery school child. From this, too, carefully recorded observations of the behaviour of individuals and groups could be a useful starting-point in child study. But the methods used in the nursery school must be sound. In the only college where a nursery school was observed, the methods were so formal and repressive that, as a basis of child study, it would have been worse than useless.

(c) Most of the work done under the heading of 'School Organization' is of a practical kind, although it is most important that it should be thought out clearly in terms of topics to be studied *before* Teaching Practice; those to be observed and recorded *during* Teaching Practice; and those to be studied *after* Teaching Practice.

(d) The work done under the heading of "Teaching

Methods' should not consist so much of a revision of the whole content of the school syllabus or of the learning by heart of 'Teachers Books', as the use of individual or Dalton methods, group methods, and project methods for typical sections of the syllabus.

(e) Development Plans in education should be studied and discussed since many aspects are at present misunderstood by parents and the public. Teachers should not only be co-operators in the execution of a plan but also act as Public Relations Officers of the Department of Education in their localities. This study could be related to a particular locality and made quite practical and detailed in scope. Wastage, as we have suggested, is a problem that could be most carefully studied as part of this work.

(f) What is mainly needed in the study of Teaching Methods is a generous allocation of time in a handwork room for the construction of class-room equipment. In some colleges some equipment is made, but it is small and generally each student has made an identical set of equipment to a lecturer's specification instead of exercising his initiative in devising his own illustrative material. The study of Teaching Methods should include the making of illustrative material for each subject for each standard. The possibilities here are very rich. In Class I a teacher could make ropes, rings, and balls for physical education, health charts, wall pictures and diagrams, reading puzzles and games, number material of all kinds for individual work as well as for group work. The teacher-in-training takes away with him at the end of his course a large parcel of equipment, but if it were more varied, some of it of his own devising, his work in the class-room would be easier and better.

(g) Each student is generally required to teach for about 120 periods during the two-year course, of which it is hoped that not less than a period of four weeks each year shall be spent in continuous practice away from the training college. The amount of this teaching practice in relation to theoretical work is much less than is usual in England. The minimum requirement for English two-year colleges is the equivalent of 200 periods and for one-year postgraduate training it is as high as 200 periods in the year. In Africa, where supervision is difficult in some places, it may be necessary to keep the period of teaching practice shorter than in England, but the present provision is certainly too short. Training College Principals in one territory are 'advised to arrange for block periods of 3 or 4 weeks' practice rather than one or more days a week'. In spite of this, small isolated pieces of practice are very common. This is a pity, because it is only in the longer practice that students can plan work for more than isolated lessons, can teach children rather than subjects because they know them, and can feel a little of the continuity of responsibility that will so soon be theirs. The broken character of teaching practice tends to lead to an inadequate time being given to preparation for teaching practice and to the follow-up afterwards. Yet teaching practice should be the starting-point of much theory. Students should be coached in the keeping of four books during the period of practice: (i) the daily diary; (ii) a record of lesson notes with space at the end of each day for a short piece of self-criticism or criticism by a qualified teacher; (iii) a case-study of an individual child; (iv) a record of observations on school organization. Students require a paper of dupli-

cated notes of advice and guidance to which they can refer as the period of practice proceeds. Heads of schools which accept students require a similar brochure of guidance. In the preparation of such documentary material the principals of colleges might pool their experiences, for we met excellent examples of such material that has already been produced.

(h) Another way by which the curriculum might be centred in actualities rather than books would be by the provision of a period of two or three weeks 'social welfare' practice. Individuals or groups should be sent out to a rural region or a small section of a township to make a field study of all the forces which help or hinder education work except the school. In particular, if there is any adult education work, or welfare work in hand, students should assist in this. In any case a study should be made of the work of the Department of Health, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Law and Order, &c., of the homes and living conditions of children, of adult literacy, population movements and economic development such as of co-operatives. This work would need careful preparation and follow-up but much rich material could be gathered for a later study of the school as an instrument of social progress.

(i) A method of teaching most suited to children between the ages of eight and twelve is the Project Method, by which an individual or small group engages in a mixture of practical work and study organized round a 'centre of interest' (such as, for example, a journey), and this cuts across all the 'subject' divisions. There is already a large literature on this method. If a student is to use this method he must have experience of it, at his own level. In each year of his course a student could follow up a project which at the same time advances his own general education.

335. If the curriculum of the colleges is revised so as to be basically practical the present examination of students will need alteration in the following ways:

(a) Sometimes only one lesson is examined and a mark given by an external examiner without consultation with the supervisor of the students' teaching practice. This should be replaced by a mark which represents a moderation of the mark of the college by the supervisor and a member of a provincial team of examiners recruited from the colleges and Education Officers of the province.

(b) Marks should be given for the following pieces of practical work presented at the conclusion of the course:

- (i) Teaching Practice and Social Welfare Practice Note-books.
- (ii) A case-study of individual child development or group behaviour.
- (iii) A set of school equipment and visual aids.
- (iv) The record of a project.
- (v) Handwork executed as part of the student's own education.

(c) Three theoretical papers could be set at two points during the course on:

- (i) School Organization.
- (ii) English writing.

And a third paper chosen from

- (iii) Current Affairs or Social Studies or General Science.

Written papers limited to these subjects would do much to minimize the theoretical character of the course, and relieve the overcrowded nature of the curriculum.

336. Since 1945 the implementation of the McNair Report on the training of teachers has led to the creation in England and Wales of Institutes of Education which have linked teacher-training of all kinds and at every level closely and permanently with the education faculties of the universities. The training of teachers has been defined in the widest possible terms and in-service training for practising teachers and trainers of teachers has become an integral part of the work of these Institutes. This recognizes the fact that the practitioner is always in need of opportunities for discussing his work, enlarging his experience, and confirming or modifying or passing on to others, the results of his experiments—in fact that education is a continuing process for the teacher and the taught. The extension of this principle to Colonial education is badly needed and equally the means to put it into practical effect. We would therefore make the following suggestions:

(a) Each territory should co-ordinate its teacher-training along the lines of the English Institutes of Education, with variations to allow for the geographical, social, and linguistic conditions of each territory.

(b) A territorial Institute, as in England, should exercise the following functions:

- (i) The co-ordination of the work of all engaged in training teachers in the territory.
- (ii) The examinations and recommendations for qualification of all students in training.
- (iii) The in-service training of teachers.
- (iv) The development of research plans and the allocation of research projects to training colleges and schools.

(c) In its organization the Institute should follow a modified form of English practice. On the Board of the Institute, a policy-determining body that would probably meet once a year only, there should be represented the Department of Education, the Training Colleges, the Churches, the Local Government Education Committees, and a few representatives of serving teachers. A Professional Committee should be responsible for all questions of admission, programmes of study at training colleges, and examination of students. A Research Committee and a Committee for In-Service Training could either be set up as parallel committees or as sub-committees of the Professional Committee.

337. Excellent research projects are sponsored by teams of workers in the Department of Agriculture and Health, but practically no money is spent on research in Education. Departments of Education are large spending departments, and it is certain that economies could be effected at the same time as improvements made if certain urgent unsolved problems in education were attacked by Institutes of Education. These are, for example:

- (i) The causes and cure of wastage in the early years of primary school life.
- (ii) The retention of literacy.
- (iii) Selection for secondary schools.

338. The existing Institute of Education at Kampala has already developed along some of the lines suggested

here and in addition serves other territories than Uganda. Its position in this respect is in some ways analogous to the London Institute of Education which is related to the London region and also to a much wider sphere.

339. As Colonial territories advance towards the standards of older countries, so the similarity of their problems in certain directions becomes apparent and the opportunities for mutual help and exchange of advice become more clear in, for example, the following ways:

(a) Those engaged in the practice or administration of education should be linked with the appropriate professional association in the United Kingdom.

(b) A Standing Professional Committee of educationalists should be set up in the United Kingdom to whom Colonial educationalists could turn for advice.

(c) Existing courses of professional training in the United Kingdom, both for those going out to the Colonial territories and for those coming from them, should be periodically reviewed in consultation with the Education Departments in the overseas territories to see that they are relevant to present-day conditions and designed to meet current developments.

(d) A series of *ad hoc* schemes should be set on foot to deal with specific educational needs, e.g. (i) a visit to Africa of a team of specialists in activity work in primary schools to conduct a course or series of courses for the trainers of teachers; (ii) a conference in the United Kingdom preceded by field work on rural education to be attended by a select group of practising teachers concerned with the work of the middle schools; (iii) a conference of Senior Women Education Officers concerned with the establishment of trades schools for girls; (iv) for selected groups and for special purposes short courses of one or two terms should be arranged in the United Kingdom along the lines of the one run by Wall Hall Training College in 1951 for Chinese and Malay women teachers from South East Asia.

(e) It should be recognized by all engaged in education

—whatever agency they serve—that part of their leave should be given to a period of further education in the interests of the territory. This should be planned well ahead and suitable arrangements should be made where necessary for extension of leave and financial assistance towards costs. A bureau should be established in England, in close co-operation with the Social Services Department and the Educational Advisers in the Colonial Office, in charge of an experienced educationalist. This officer would know about refresher courses and conferences and be the Liaison Officer with professional bodies, Local Education Authorities, and all other sources of help and information. Arrangements would thus be canalized through an authorized channel and a body of knowledge would be built up that would be of great value to the education authorities in the United Kingdom as well as to those in Colonial territories. Much of this kind of thing is already being done through personal associations, but it lacks co-ordination. A co-ordinated scheme would have the merits of:

- (i) recognizing the principle of in-service training and of making financial provision for it;
- (ii) emphasizing the common professional needs and interests of all engaged in education regardless of race and of the agency they serve;
- (iii) making it clear that frequent and regular leave for such a purpose is necessary if salary grants are to be earned;
- (iv) ensuring that the progress of education in the Colonial territories is always in touch with current thought and practice in England and is aware of its constant growth and change, and also that overseas experience has an increasing and valuable contribution to make to it.

The organization thus established should be able to have a permanent exhibition of books, educational materials, visual aids, &c., and be ready to give advice or direct inquiries to those who could supply the information they need on any educational matter.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 19

RECOMMENDATION NO. 57

We recommend that.

- (a) Every territory should make a revised estimate of the number of teachers needed for educational advance in each of the next ten years;
- (b) the training of teachers after only six years' schooling should be discontinued;
- (c) every effort should be made to up-grade existing vernacular teachers, particularly by refresher courses;
- (d) a third year of training should be provided in handicraft, domestic science, and agriculture in order to provide sufficient teachers of these subjects, particularly for the middle schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 58

We recommend that training colleges should be urged to foster in every way possible the development in students of a strong sense of professional loyalty to the education service of a territory.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 59

We recommend that where there is a shortage of teachers, any system of 'quotas' or 'rationing' should not be pushed to the degree which results in the serious retardation of progressive areas where there is great keenness on education.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 60

We recommend that the financial and material conditions which apply to intending teachers should be on a basis of equality with those which apply to similar trainees in other Government departments.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 61

We recommend that the transport of students, particularly girls and women students, to and from schools and training college should be a matter of careful organization and the development of a scheme of financial assistance.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 62

We recommend that a Unified Teaching Service to include all teachers employed in grant-aided schools should be instituted without delay.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 63

We recommend that there should be no discrepancy between the salary scales of teachers and those which apply to other civil servants of similar qualifications and training, and that there should be contributory pension schemes for all teachers in grant-aided schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 64

We recommend that the Composite Training Centre, where teachers, and agricultural and health assistants are all trained in the same institution has great advantages over the normal training college and as many as possible of such centres should be established.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 65

We recommend that every territory should work out a programme of concentration of centres so that by 1955 no training college existed with a community of fewer than 120 students. Large colleges are equally inadvisable and colleges should rarely, if ever, exceed three times this number in size.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 66

We recommend that before being put into general use new syllabuses should be given a period of trial by selected training colleges and their practising and demonstration schools and then revised in the light of that experience.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 67

We recommend that the present courses of training for teachers need to be revised so as to make experience the starting-point of their work. This could be done by the study of Development Plans and Wastage; the observation of children and groups; the construction of Teaching Aids; the use of a period of Social Welfare practice, experience of the Project Method; and the careful integration of a substantial period of Teaching Practice with the theoretical work of the course.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 68

We recommend that the scheme of examinations for training college students should be revised so that written papers are limited in number but practical work is carefully assessed.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 69

We recommend that:

(a) Each territory should co-ordinate its teacher-train-

ing along the lines of the English Institutes of Education, with variations to allow for the geographical, social, and linguistic conditions of each territory.

(b) A territorial Institute should exercise the following functions:

- (i) The co-ordination of the work of all engaged in training teachers in the territory.
- (ii) The examinations and recommendations for qualification of all students in training.
- (iii) The in-service training of teachers.
- (iv) The development of research plans and the allocation of research projects to training colleges and schools.

(c) In its organization the Institute should follow a modified form of English practice. On the Board of the Institute, a policy-determining body, there should be represented the Department of Education, the Training Colleges, the Churches, the Local Government Education Committees, and a few representatives of serving teachers. A Professional Committee should be responsible for all questions of admission, programmes of study at training colleges, and examination of students. A Research Committee and a Committee for In-Service Training could either be set up as parallel committees or as sub-committees of the Professional Committee.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 70

We recommend the following ways for encouraging in-service training for those engaged in education in Africa and for facilitating exchange of advice and information between Africa and Great Britain.

- (a) Those engaged in the practice or administration of education should be linked with the appropriate professional association in Great Britain.
- (b) A Standing Professional Committee of educationalists should be set up in Great Britain to whom Colonial educationalists could turn for advice.
- (c) Existing courses of professional training in Great Britain for those both going to and coming from Colonial territories should be periodically reviewed in consultation with Colonial Departments of Education to see that they are relevant to present-day conditions and designed to meet current developments.
- (d) *Ad hoc* schemes should be devised so that by visits and conferences urgent educational problems are attacked.
- (e) A bureau should be established in Great Britain to provide information and help about refresher courses and conferences in Great Britain so that educationalists on leave could be enabled to spend a part of their leave in further education.

PART V

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

20. SCHOOL FEES

340. Africans who gave evidence to us on behalf of organized bodies often objected to school fees in principle, but on probing we found that their objections were based on the tendency in the United Kingdom to abolish school fees and on the difficulty of some parents in paying such fees. As long as education is voluntary and selective we see no objection in principle to the payment of school fees. On the contrary it seems to us arguable that as under these conditions the whole population must pay for what is to the advantage of the selected pupil as well as to the advantage of the State, the cost should be shared between the families of the selected pupils and the community generally. Moreover, there is a strong argument in favour of the payment of fees when the African territories are finding it so difficult to devise satisfactory methods of taxation that will produce the necessary money for the great expansion of education which is necessary for their well-being. Some of our witnesses assured us in addition that the payment of fees encourages regular attendance at school. We are therefore in favour, under present conditions and for as long ahead as we can reasonably foresee, of the continued payment of school fees both for tuition and boarding, subject to certain conditions. In the first place we are of the opinion that the fee charged should be uniform throughout a course, for otherwise parents will have a tendency to remove their children when the fees rise. Secondly, we believe that fees should be uniform for similar schools throughout a territory, for otherwise one school will be played off against another and there will be general unsettlement. In making these suggestions we are well aware that we are advising contrary to the wishes of several missionaries who have indicated to us quite plainly their desire to be free to extract as much money as each parent can reasonably pay and therefore to vary the fees from area to area and from class to class within the same school. We think, however, that the arguments in favour of this course of action are based on the expediency of the moment and must break down as African education proceeds and as Africans become more aware of what is being done elsewhere.

341. Our next point is that fees should be fixed on some principle which is readily understood and which, while it admits of variation to some extent in accordance with rising or falling costs, insures against violent changes in fees such as, for example, followed the recent economy measures in Nyasaland and the adoption of the Beecher Report in Kenya. In both these instances there were sudden steep rises in fees which proved disconcerting to parents and damaging to schools. To secure what we have in mind we suggest that the tuition fees in any class of school should be calculated approximately to cover the cost of the consumable equipment used by the individual pupil each year. If fees were calculated in this way there would be a certain amount of scope for adjustment in

accordance with cost, but there would be a safeguard against sudden and violent changes in the amount of the fees. It would also be possible for any territory which felt it could afford to do so to abolish tuition fees and substitute an equipment grant, or alternatively pupils could be called on to pay for their equipment instead of paying fees. That last alternative would have the advantage of allowing children to keep their school books, but that would be a doubtful advantage in some instances and on the whole we prefer the payment of a fixed fee approximately equal to the cost of equipment consumed.

342. A somewhat similar measure for boarding fees could be found by equating them approximately with the cost of food and clothing actually supplied to the individual child each year by the school. That again would guard against sudden extreme variations in cost, would permit of gradual adjustment in accordance with prices, and would mean that the parent was paying to the school approximately what he would otherwise have to expend on the child at home.

343. An imperative need in any system of school fees is in our view an adequate scheme for remission or reduction where the parent's means are such that he cannot fairly be expected to pay the whole sum. The Beecher Report attempted to meet this need by allowing school governors to remit up to 10 per cent. of the total fees demanded from parents. Other territories have called on local African authorities to provide bursaries for necessitous pupils. The weakness of the Beecher scheme in our opinion is that it fails to distinguish between the need of one area and another, though some areas are much more prosperous than others, while the local bursary scheme leaves pupils entirely at the mercy of their own particular local authority, some of which are generous while others might be described as mean, for the provision made is not in accordance with the relative wealth or poverty of the several local authorities. Another scheme which has the merit of flexibility in accordance with need gives district commissioners for the time being, and local authorities ultimately, the power to remit fees after application made to them by a parent and inquiries by them from those best qualified to know the parent's circumstances, for example, the local mission or the local chief. District commissioners can then reach a decision on the best advice available to them and equate their scales at their periodic meetings in each province. It has been objected to us that this scheme leaves too much scope for subjective feelings of chiefs or missionaries, but on the whole we consider it the best scheme available. It is obviously quite impossible to expect Africans under present circumstances to render an account of their income and responsibilities as they do under similar circumstances in the United Kingdom and we cannot advocate any scheme which fails to take account of the individual needs of a parent.

344. Our last point concerning fees is the method of their collection and disposal. In some territories the school governors, or the local missionaries, collect the fees but apply them to the payment of school costs generally and without audit or any detailed instructions, though there is sometimes a general understanding that the fees will be used to buy school equipment. This method obviously lends itself to inconsistencies and some of them actually came to our own notice; for example, the appearance of Government equipment in unaided schools and serious differences in the standard of equipment in neighbouring schools, though the fee income was approximately the same.

Communications are often so bad and distances so great in this part of Africa that we find it necessary to suggest that fees may sometimes have to be collected by the teaching staff of a school. They can then be paid either into the account of the school governors or into that of a Government Office. We do not think it matters which of these alternatives is adopted provided that there is an audit of the accounts to ensure that the sums received are properly accounted for and properly applied. Where a District Education Officer is appointed this audit should be done by him, but otherwise by the staff of the District Commissioner.

RECOMMENDATION FOR CHAPTER 20

RECOMMENDATION NO. 71

We recommend that:

- (a) tuition and boarding fees should be charged in all schools;
- (b) fees should be uniform throughout a school course and uniform in similar schools throughout a territory;
- (c) tuition fees should be approximately equal to the cost of consumable equipment supplied to the individual pupil in school and boarding fees approximately equal to the cost of food and clothing supplied to the individual pupil of the school;

- (d) remission or reduction of fees should be authorized now by district commissioners and eventually by African local authorities, who should be charged with the duties of making all possible inquiries in the locality concerning a parent's ability to pay. Advice on this point could be obtained from local authorities, missions, chiefs, and teachers;
- (e) fees should be collected by school teachers and paid into the account of a mission or a Government office, but that the receipt and disposal of all fees should be audited under arrangements made by the district commissioner or district education officer.

21. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF BOARDING SCHOOLS

345. Owing to the scattered population, difficulties of travel, and long distances which are a feature of the East and Central African territories in their present state of development, the proportion of boarding schools is necessarily higher than in the United Kingdom, and this constitutes a major problem because boarding schools are much more expensive than day schools. Consequently every territory is greatly concerned to run all its boarding schools as cheaply as possible and many of them though run cheaply are run very well. On the other hand, the state of affairs in some of the boarding schools caused us great concern. Nobody expects luxury in such schools, and the Africans themselves are, of course, used to hard living and do not complain of conditions of considerable austerity. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the great majority of pupils in African boarding schools look in far better health and in particular are much better nourished than the average child in an African day school. Some of the schools we visited were able to produce impressive figures for the average gain in weight of their pupils since admission. Boarding schools, too, have the advantage of being able to provide far more favourable conditions than most homes for preparation of work, particularly at night. Adequate lighting is necessary and most schools use either pressure lamps or electric light from their own plants or from public supply. Hurricane lamps are less suitable for the sustained efforts of homework as they involve a considerable degree of eye-strain. In any case sufficient lighting should be provided for the informal activities of community life. In their search for cheapness, however,

some school authorities appear to us to be running grave risks with the health and social standards of their pupils. One secondary school made no arrangements for its pupils to wash before three in the afternoon and a girls' secondary school required its pupils to eat their meals with their fingers from communal bowls while sitting on the ground, and we have also to record instances where the cooking, dining, washing, drinking, and sleeping arrangements for the pupils would never have been passed by a Medical Officer. In making these criticisms we have regard to the shortage of water in many seasons of the year which is characteristic of the greater part of these territories, and with the great need for economy which is always felt by every Government department. The worst instances of insanitary conditions which we ever encountered were found in one territory where the system of weekly boarding is used. Under this system the pupils are at school from Sunday evening to Friday evening and are sent home for week-ends. On Sunday evening they are expected to return bringing with them sufficient food for the ensuing week and the school limits its boarding arrangements to the provision of a place for sleeping and a place where food may be cooked and eaten. The pupils are expected to bring their own bedding, and in the worst examples we saw it was obvious that they had brought with them for that purpose only a few rags or nothing at all. We discovered a dark hut where girls must have slept crowded together lying on the floor either in their day attire or in nothing at all, judging by the space available, the amount of bedding to be seen, and the number of girls using the hut for

sleeping. That was a very bad instance, and we were told that the responsibility lay with the Native Authority who should have seen to it that an adequate sleeping-space was available and that the girls brought bedding with them from home. It was also pointed out to us that the conditions under which the girls were sleeping were no worse than those to which they were accustomed at home. That in our view was no answer at all, for the Government had taken the responsibility of assembling these girls in a boarding school for education and among other things was teaching them hygiene and seeking to raise their social standards. Another criticism in this particular school, and in others, lay in the inadequate supervision of the girls' sleeping-quarters, for we were told that the girls were left entirely to themselves after a member of the school staff had looked in to see that they were all in bed at about 8 p.m. It seems to us that the system of weekly boarding as at present used has nothing to commend it except cheapness and that Governments must face their responsibilities in this matter of boarding education, if the pupils are to be reasonably protected against moral and material damage and if education worthy of the name is to be given. Admittedly the examples we have quoted are the worst cases and very good work indeed is being done in other places, but in our view the following features are essential in all boarding schools to remedy the difficulties to which we have drawn attention:

- (a) Government, Native Authority, or mission should provide adequate food for the pupils and ensure that it is cooked and eaten under hygienic conditions,
- (b) beds should be provided for sleeping, together with adequate bedding, and the number of beds in each dormitory should be approved by a responsible officer in every boarding school;
- (c) each dormitory should be adequately supervised by someone in authority sleeping in the same building under arrangements for which the headmaster or headmistress of the school takes full responsibility,
- (d) the arrangements for providing drinking-water and facilities for the pupils to wash themselves and their clothes should be approved by a responsible officer,
- (e) latrines should similarly be approved by a responsible officer,
- (f) everything possible should be done to make the living and sleeping quarters such as will raise the social standards of the pupils;
- (g) adequate supplies of suitable lighting should be available both for preparation of work and for social activities.

346. It is usual for boarding schools to provide school uniforms which are sometimes made by the pupils. We have no wish to see children regimented on institutional

lines, but the ordinary clothing of African children varies so much that we consider that school uniforms ought generally to be provided at a cost which is included in the boarding fee. Fortunately the clothes required are not expensive owing to the usual warmth of the climate, and often the schools themselves are able to make some of the clothing. The provision of uniforms is generally very well done and our criticisms only apply to those comparatively few instances where no uniform is provided or where it is left to the parents to provide the uniforms which the school regulations require. The latter practice usually results in some children being inadequately clothed, and it must be difficult for a child to maintain his self-respect among his fellows when his clothing is in rags.

347. Another of the problems of boarding schools in these territories arises from the difficulties of travel. Many children travel over 100 miles through undeveloped country between school and home, and we have heard of instances where the distance involved is over 500 miles and the time taken two or three weeks. British children of the ages we are considering would never be allowed to undertake travel over these distances and under these conditions without escort. African children are able to undertake journeys of this kind with equanimity, but clearly the schools ought to help as much as possible by providing transport, or at any rate by paying fares which are beyond the capacity of parents to bear. Many schools arrange lorries for part of the distance and other pupils are able to travel by public buses for part of the distance they have to cover, but many have to walk long distances and make what arrangements they can to stay with friends or relatives on the way. It is tempting for us to say, as is often said in the United Kingdom, that public authorities ought to bear the whole cost of travel to and from school beyond reasonable walking distance in order to equalize as much as possible the accessibility of schools, but we feel unable to make this recommendation in our report because of the high cost that would be involved. We do, however, suggest that schools should provide buses or lorries wherever there is an economic load of pupils for part or the whole of the distance to be covered, charging each pupil his proportion of the cost, and that the parent of any pupil who is of opinion that the travelling costs he has to bear are beyond his capacity should be able to apply for assistance to the chief or district commissioner where he lives, the district commissioner having power to repay the charges or part of them if he considers that a case has been made out for doing so after making inquiries from chiefs, missions, and teachers on the spot. Ultimately this power should pass from the district commissioner to the local authority as the latter gains sufficient experience in administration, the local authority acting as adviser to the district commissioner during an intermediate stage.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHAPTER 21

RECOMMENDATION NO. 72

We recommend that in every boarding school aided from public funds:

- (a) Government, Native Authority, or mission should provide adequate food for the pupils and ensure that it is cooked and eaten under hygienic conditions;

- (b) beds should be provided for sleeping, together with adequate bedding, and the number of beds in each dormitory should be approved by a responsible officer in every boarding school;
- (c) each dormitory should be adequately supervised by someone in authority sleeping in the same building

under arrangements for which the headmaster or headmistress of the school takes full responsibility;

- (d) the arrangements for providing drinking-water and facilities for the pupils to wash themselves and their clothes should be approved by a responsible officer;
- (e) latrines should similarly be approved by a responsible officer,
- (f) everything possible should be done to make the living and sleeping quarters such as will raise the social standards of the pupils,
- (g) adequate supplies of suitable lighting should be available both for preparation of work and for social activities.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 73

We recommend that boarding schools should provide school uniforms and charge for these uniforms as part of the boarding fee.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 74

We recommend that schools should provide buses or lorries wherever there is an economic load of pupils for part or the whole of the distance to be covered, charging each pupil his proportion of the cost, and that the parent of any pupil who is of opinion that the travelling costs he has to bear are beyond his capacity should be able to apply for assistance to the chief or district commissioner where he lives, the district commissioner having power to repay the charges or part of them if he considers that a case has been made out for doing so after making inquiries from chiefs, missions, and teachers on the spot. Ultimately this power should pass from the district commissioner to the local authority as the latter gains sufficient experience in administration, the local authority acting as adviser to the district commissioner during an intermediate stage.

22. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF URBAN AREAS

348. It is in urban areas that Africans are farthest removed from their tribal organization and from the sort of life that they have been leading for many generations. In such areas Africans have been required to make sudden and violent readjustments, and it is not surprising that the results have often caused great concern. Moreover, it is in urban areas unfortunately that the influence of the missions is usually least felt. It appears that missions and Churches have concentrated their efforts in rural rather than urban areas and missionaries have been trained with this in mind. In the copper-belt of Northern Rhodesia the schools were managed until recently by the United Missions, but that arrangement is about to be terminated because we understand the missions have found the work too much for them.

349. The development of settled populations concentrated into urban areas is characteristic of most societies making the fullest use of their economic resources. The reasons for the concentrations vary in East and Central Africa as elsewhere. Sometimes it is the growth of capital cities as centres of administration, trade, and commerce, such as Nairobi, Kampala, and Lusaka, or the expansion of ports to deal with the export of raw materials, such as Dar-es-Salaam and Mombasa, or centres of expanding industry such as the copper-belt towns in Northern Rhodesia, or Jinja. The conditions, however, under which life is lived in towns by all inhabitants, of all races, should be controlled in the interests of their general health and well-being. It is an historical fact that people living in the close community of urban life develop political and social consciousness more swiftly, that general informal educational agencies can be more widely successful and better social services can be provided at a cheaper rate to affect more people. It is equally true that the lack of these services among people crowded together, often under unsatisfactory conditions of living and labour, can produce more problems of greater magnitude and of more immediate urgency for public authority to solve. Among Africans, particularly, these problems are acute. They gather, first as squatters under uncontrolled conditions and then as tenants in townships designed for cheapness and economic

convenience rather than as training-grounds for a positive and fruitful urban life. They are divorced from the known pattern of day-to-day routine and the established discipline and sanction of tribal life.

350. There has been reluctance to recognize the emergence of urban societies in Africa. Originally men came in to do seasonable work or for contract periods leaving women and children behind on their plots of land, which were their social security and to which the men returned. On this understanding the original housing schemes were based on provision for the single man, not the family. Gradually, however, families migrated to the towns, bringing with them a host of social, educational, health, and housing problems. The latest phase, notably represented in Nairobi, is in the nature of a garden-city layout with welfare centres, clinics, and schools incorporated in the plan from the beginning. This is by far the most attractive residential arrangement for Africans in an urban area, but it represents quite a heavy charge on the finances of the City Council and it is doubtful how far such arrangements can be extended unless they can become self-supporting.

351. Under the conditions thus described, it is not surprising that a number of social problems of the first magnitude have arisen. The ones that concern us most are those of school attendance, child welfare, and juvenile delinquency. In the urban areas not only are a number of young men separated from their tribes and families, but a number of children have similarly become detached and, particularly in the copper-belt of Northern Rhodesia, are wandering about without guidance or control, and not unnaturally are getting into mischief and trouble of all kinds. It seems to us that drastic remedies are required in the form of school attendance and youth work. In the copper-belt an ordinance was passed which attempted to enforce school attendance between the ages of twelve and sixteen, but this attempt, which was made for social rather than educational reasons, was a failure because the provision of school places was not sufficient to accommodate all the children and because allowance had not been made for the different ages at which children would enter the area and so be required, for the first time, to attend school. The

resulting overcrowded classes and impossibly wide age-ranges in the lowest classes defeated the object of the ordinance, which had to be withdrawn in order to enable the work of education to proceed with reasonable efficiency. We have no doubt that compulsory school attendance should be enforced as soon as possible in the large towns and in the copper-belt, but certain conditions precedent are essential.

352. In the first place, the problem of control must be solved. The City Councils and other urban authorities have been very reluctant to undertake responsibility for education, but in our view they should become the local education authorities who should finance the primary and day intermediate schools and to whom the governors of those schools should be immediately responsible. Such a state of affairs would represent a new development, for in the past only the African local bodies have controlled African schools and the City Councils and other urban authorities are usually interracial and often have a preponderance of Europeans. Nevertheless, we suggest that such an interracial body ought to assume the responsibility for education which local bodies in rural areas are already facing, and we think that much good could come from the fixing of local responsibility in this way and on an interracial basis. At present urban local authorities usually pay for the education of Africans only very indirectly and to a relatively small extent, the schools being provided for the most part directly by Government and to a less extent by missions.

353. We suggest, therefore, that the mission societies, and the Churches who are behind the missions, should focus their attention on the urban areas of these territories to a much greater extent than has recently been the case, and that in particular they should be prepared to take their full share in the government and supervision of schools whether these schools are uni-denominational or multi-denominational, so that religious teaching properly supervised and inspired forms the basis of all the education given in the schools.

354. School provision to accommodate all children for eight years, with special primary courses for older entrants, should then be provided in these areas as a matter of priority, and when that task has been accomplished an ordinance should be passed requiring all children between the ages of seven and fifteen resident in the area to attend

school regularly. This will mean that the Government and the local authority must face a task of considerable magnitude as regards finance, the supply of teachers, and the supply of school premises. If our suggestions are followed school provision would be fortified by the strength of the local rates and by local responsibility. In particular our suggestions would mean that the industrial concerns which are usually profiting from the urban conditions would be required to shoulder much increased responsibility for solving these problems.

355. Each of these urban areas also requires a Council for Social Services among young people, and we suggest that such a council should be set up in each area as soon as possible. In this connexion we also suggest that every firm employing more than a certain number of African people should be required to institute a welfare service on their behalf under the supervision of the council for social services whose recommendations would deal with the details peculiar to each area. On such a council, Government, the local authority, industry, the Churches, and teachers should be represented, and the council would be charged with the duty of inspiring and co-ordinating the social activities of the city or town. Evening classes and day continuation classes would form a part of the programme in many areas. In the copper-belt of Northern Rhodesia some of the industrial firms have made an excellent start by equipping school buildings with electric light to enable them to be used in the evenings, and in our view this is only the beginning of what they ought to do.

356. In many of the urban areas it is already becoming very difficult to get adequate space for schools, and we suggest that school sites with sufficient space for playing-fields should be provided for at once in all planning schemes where urban areas are expanding or where new urban areas are obviously going to be formed, for example, in the large developments of greater Nairobi and at Jinja, where the new Nile dam will certainly lead to the rapid growth of a large urban industrial and residential area. We stress the importance of playing-fields for young people to be included in school sites and also to be part of all welfare schemes. These playing-fields will be expensive, but they are a most valuable corrective to juvenile delinquency, on which most of the urban communities are now spending so much money in an unconstructive way.

RECOMMENDATION FOR CHAPTER 22

RECOMMENDATION NO. 75

We recommend that:

- (a) City councils, town councils, and other interracial urban authorities should become local education authorities financing and controlling primary and day intermediate schools in their several areas;
- (b) the missions and native Churches should focus much more of their attention than at present on the urban areas and particularly on the provision of a religious basis for education and youth work in those areas;
- (c) as soon as possible eight years' compulsory education between the ages of seven and fifteen should be provided in urban areas;
- (d) youth work in urban areas should be greatly in-

tensified under the general management of a Council for Social Services for each area; that every industrial and commercial firm employing more than a certain number of African employees should be required to provide a welfare service approved by the local Council for Social Services; and that industrial and commercial firms should also be encouraged to take a lively interest on a voluntary basis in the welfare of the families of their adult employees and of the young people they employ;

- (e) adequate provision for school sites with playing-fields and for playing-fields included in welfare schemes should be made at once in the planning schemes for the development and enlargement of urban areas.

23. FINANCE

357. Finance is, of course, the tightest bottleneck through which all schemes for expansion in education have to pass in the East and Central African territories. We have already explained that, with the exception of the copper-belt in Northern Rhodesia, the products of these countries are very largely agricultural and that in most instances the agriculture practised is primitive and often even wasteful alike of the crops and the soil which produces them. Consequently the annual income of these territories is very small by European standards as the following table will show:

<i>Territory</i>	<i>Population (approx.)</i>	<i>Annual revenue in 1950 (approx.)</i>	<i>Approximate revenue per head of the population</i>
Nyasaland	2,509,000	£3,000,000	£1. 3s.
Northern Rhodesia	1,693,000	£15,600,000	£9. 4s.
Tanganyika	7,482,500	£11,000,000	£1. 9s.
Uganda	5,100,000	£10,603,142	£2. 1s.
Kenya	5,400,000	£13,244,019	£2. 9s.

In arriving at these figures we have taken the annual revenue as being that raised within the territory by taxation in the year in question. We have not included revenue raised by loans or available from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. The figures we give for revenue per head of the total population compare with just over £80 per head for the United Kingdom, but it must be remembered that as in the United Kingdom, local authorities also raise considerable revenue through local levies in these territories. Although the figures we have quoted do not reveal detailed information they do show how comparatively small for the most part are the funds available in this part of the world for education and other public services. Clearly an increase in the productivity of the country is essential, and we have been assured by agricultural experts that a very great increase is possible provided that intelligence and expert knowledge can be brought to bear on the agricultural problems of these countries. Among the social services, expenditure on education ought, therefore, to have the highest priority. In the meantime an attempt to compare the percentage of available income spent on education in the different territories is instructive and for that purpose we include the following table:

<i>Territory</i>	<i>Revenue of the Central Government, 1950 (approx.)</i>	<i>Amount spent by Central Government on African education, 1950 (approx.)</i>	<i>% of total income spent on African education</i>
Nyasaland	£3,000,000	£200,000	6.6
Northern Rhodesia	£15,600,000	£500,000	3.2
Tanganyika	£11,000,000	£1,000,000	9
Uganda	£10,603,142	£609,359	5
Kenya	£13,244,019	£630,000	4

Again we do not claim that this table gives a complete picture of the situation or permits of detailed comparison. All we claim is that it does show a diversity in the extent to which the different territories are prepared to pay for African education. We have not included the amount spent by local authorities because it is very difficult to separate this expenditure from that of the Central Government in most territories owing to the intricacies of the grant system. We have also omitted expenditure on Asian and European education because the Africans are in all territories the great bulk of the population and European education is in some instances paid for by special levies on Europeans or by special fees. Again, we have not included the amount spent by departments other than the education department in training their own recruits, partly because such training is sometimes narrowly technical and partly because we have not found it easy to find out how much money is spent in that way.

358. A factor to be borne in mind whenever the allocation of money between different Government departments is being discussed is the consideration that a department of education is in a sense a service department for all the other departments, for it is engaged in the business of producing trained personnel for all these departments, and if it is deprived of the means to do its work well, all the departments will suffer.

359. In all territories, broadly speaking, there are four sources of income from which the cost of education can be financed, namely, levies by the central Government, levies by local authorities, contributions by missions, and fees paid by parents. We have already dealt in other chapters with school fees and the contributions from missions, and we now turn to the division of expenditure between the central and the local authorities.

360. Deputations of organized bodies of Africans in all territories and also individual Africans more informally, have always assured us that Africans are willing and anxious to tax themselves heavily in order to pay for education, and in confirmation of those statements we have seen the extent to which some African local bodies have already made contributions for this purpose, almost to the point of bankruptcy, and the way in which communities have organized themselves voluntarily to put up and pay for school buildings. Africans have also generally assured us that they would contribute much more readily than otherwise if the contributions were made locally for local needs and if African local authorities had a share in supervision of the spending. We conclude therefore that African local authorities, constituted as recommended in our chapter on that subject, should be given the duty of financing as much as possible of the cost of education in their several areas. We have already dealt with the problem of supervision and we now have to discuss the proportion of the cost which African local bodies should raise. Obviously their capacity varies from territory to territory and from district to district within a territory. Some districts are much more prosperous than others because their people are more advanced or because their soil is more productive. We would meet this situation by calling on African local bodies to finance primary and day intermediate

education with the aid of grants from the central Government graduated in accordance with the needs of different areas. In the first place it would probably be necessary to allocate these grants empirically in accordance with estimated need, but after due experience it should be possible for the financial officers concerned to work out objective formulae of the kind commonly used for this purpose in other parts of the world. We charge primary and day intermediate education to local authorities because the costs are relatively low per pupil and the control is relatively simple. For the time being, at any rate, we consider that secondary schools and intermediate boarding schools, which present greater difficulties in government and involve greater costs per pupil, should be paid for from the funds of the central Government, an added reason being that such schools generally serve wide areas and often go beyond the purview of any one local authority. We would then make the governors of primary and day intermediate schools responsible to local authorities and the governors of secondary schools and intermediate boarding schools responsible to the central Government, taxation and control being thus linked together. It would be understood, of course, that local authorities would have to graduate through the stages of nomination and advisory powers before they reach ultimately the stage of full election and full executive powers as they gain sufficient experience and knowledge. In the early stages the executive power would lie with European officials, whose power would gradually diminish as the power of African local authorities would increase.

361. We now turn to the question of the financial relationship of the mission to Government and to the local authorities and in doing so we think it well to reiterate our conviction that just as the powers of district commissioners and education officers will be gradually handed over to African local authorities, so the powers of missions and individual missionaries will be gradually transformed into the powers of the African Native Churches as is already happening to a considerable extent. Again it will require the highest degree of administrative ability to decide by what stages and at what rate the transfer shall be attained in accordance with the experience, knowledge, and sense of responsibility of the Africans, as these qualities are developed by education and by practice in self-government.

362. At present many territories finance their mission schools through a highly complicated system of capitation grants and we consider that the time has come to simplify and consolidate the grant system. We suggest that the State, or the local authority as the case may be, should pay teachers' salaries in accordance with approved qualifications, establishments, and salary scales, that the school fees should approximately pay for the consumable equipment for all schools and for the food and clothing supplied in boarding schools, and we suggest that the cost of the buildings, furniture, and general amenities in mission schools, or as we call them uni-denominational schools, should be shared between Government and the local authority on the one hand and the Church or mission on the other hand, in accordance with a percentage to be agreed separately in each territory. We make these suggestions because we feel that it is essential that the Church or mission concerned should have a financial stake, however

small, in the premises of uni-denominational schools in order to justify the position of privilege which the Church or mission will enjoy in such a school and also to safeguard the Church as the school owners. We suggest that the percentage should be agreed separately in each territory because some territories are at present exacting much more from the missions than others in financing the cost of education. If these suggestions are adopted, the grant system for the schools themselves will be relatively simple and we need only add in this respect that grants should be accompanied by grant regulations, agreed upon between the parties concerned, which clearly specify the powers and duties of each party.

363. There remains the problem of financing teacher-training, and we suggest that here again the governors of training colleges should be directly responsible to the central Government, which would finance the training colleges directly, again paying the cost of lecturers' salaries completely on the basis of approved establishments, qualifications, and salary scales and in the case of mission or Church training colleges sharing the cost of premises with the Church concerned on an agreed basis. As regards fees, we consider it essential that the finance of teacher-training should be put on exactly the same basis in every respect as the finance of training recruits for other Government departments which compete with each other and with the education department for recruits from the secondary schools. We are satisfied that in some territories teachers are now materially worse off during their training than recruits for other Government departments, and we think this must prove disastrous in the long run, for it will result in the second best becoming teachers. We have already stated in many connexions how much importance we attach to securing teachers of the best quality, and we may sum up by saying that second-rate teachers are likely to be much more expensive in the long run than first-rate teachers. Teachers' salaries should be zoned, we consider, only in those territories where the salaries of other Government departments are zoned, and it is essential that teachers' salaries should be on a par in all respects with the salaries paid to officers of other Government departments of the same training and qualifications.

364. The finance of administration and control remains to be discussed. We agree entirely with the conclusion of the Beecher Committee that control of African education must be adequate to ensure proper conduct of the service by those engaged in it, and we have already recommended that the professional supervision of the teaching of all subjects except religious education should remain in the hands of Government and be exercised at first through European education officers and then increasingly through African education officers, as the latter become available with the necessary qualifications and experience. Again it will require administrative ability of the highest standard to decide on the pace and timing of transfer. We have already explained that we would entrust day-to-day management of schools to local authorities and local missions or Churches in partnership on the governing bodies concerned. For the time being we suggest that local authorities should finance the supervision of mission schools by mission supervisors or secretaries through the payment of an agreed proportion of the cost of the salary of each supervisor, the number of supervisors required

being based on the number of teachers supervised, again on a basis to be agreed with each territory. This basis may need to be varied within a territory in those districts where the schools are far apart. We do not suggest that Government or local authorities should pay the whole cost of

the supervision of uni-denominational schools because again we consider it essential that the Churches should have a financial stake in the matter but we do suggest that the local authorities should pay a high proportion of the cost.

RECOMMENDATION FOR CHAPTER 23

RECOMMENDATION NO. 76

We recommend that:

- (a) primary and day intermediate schools should be financed by local authorities and that governors of primary and day intermediate schools should be responsible to local authorities;
- (b) secondary and intermediate boarding schools should be financed by central Governments and that governors of secondary schools and intermediate boarding schools should be responsible to central Governments;
- (c) Government or the local authority as the case may be should pay for teachers in mission or Church schools in accordance with approved qualifications, establishments, and salary scales;
- (d) the cost of buildings and furniture in uni-denominational schools should be shared between Government and the local authority on the one hand and the Church or mission on the other in accordance with a percentage to be agreed separately in each territory;
- (e) grants should be accompanied by grant regulations;
- (f) teacher-training should be financed by central

- Governments and governors of teacher-training colleges should be responsible to central Governments. Central Governments should pay the salaries of lecturers on approved establishments, qualifications, and salary scales, and in the case of mission or Church training colleges the cost of premises should be shared between Governments and the Church concerned on a basis to be agreed in each territory;
- (g) the finance of teacher-training colleges should be put on exactly the same basis as the training of recruits for other Government departments, as regards fees, pocket-money, and all other payments made to or by trainees;
- (h) teachers' salaries should be zoned only when other Government officials' salaries are zoned;
- (i) Local authorities should finance the day-to-day management of mission or Church schools by missionaries or Church workers through the payment of an agreed proportion of the cost of the salary of each manager or supervisor, the number of managers required being based on the number of teachers supervised, again on a basis to be agreed with each territory.

24. CONCLUSION

We hope that we have been able to make comments and suggestions in this report which will prove practical, constructive, and helpful. Our hopes spring not only from a sense of duty but from the respect and affection for the people of all races whom we found working in the territories we visited. As we have already said, the wonder is that so much has been done in so short a time. It is not a matter of surprise at all that some things have not yet found their best course, or that so much remains to be done.

In our recommendations we have erred on the side of dogmatism and simplification, fortified by the knowledge that our report is to be read by a critical and informed band of workers in the field before our proposals are considered as a basis for action.

We have no doubt that a very great effort is needed in the future; greater even than any yet made. Some territories, we believe, could raise more money for education than they are providing, but even that may not be enough. Modern civilization is affecting Africans very quickly and the African population is fast increasing. In our judgement the expansion of education cannot wait for the expansion of productivity to finance it entirely. New sources of income must be found and a great effort must be made to spread education ahead of the spread of the evils that come

from desires without knowledge and knowledge without the restraints and guidance which only the right education can supply.

The early history of European contacts with Africa contains dark episodes as well as splendid instances of courage, faith, and endurance by Africans and Europeans. Those who were early in the field had at their disposal only a fraction of the resources which we can use today, yet they achieved great things. Our generation, although it has superior means at its disposal, faces more immediate demands and a more dangerous challenge. It will take the combined efforts of all concerned in and for Africa to help the African peoples to take their place as full partners in a world society.

We three members of the Study Group unite in paying a well-deserved tribute to the patience, industry, and great ability of our Secretary, Miss A. E. Muir. Throughout the whole of our work she was our ready helper, our counselor, and our never-failing friend. She warned us of impending events, and always saw to it that we did not take life too easily or with too much optimism. We could not have had a better Secretary.

(Signed) A. L. BINNS (*Chairman*)
B. A. FLETCHER
FREDA H. GWILLIAM

APPENDIXES

The recommendations that have been made in this report and which are summarized in Appendix I, apply in general to East and Central Africa, although we realize that they are not all equally relevant to each territory. The

special conditions in Zanzibar and British Somaliland, however, have led us to make a series of specific recommendations for these two territories, which we reproduce in Appendix II.

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATION NO. 1

We recommend that the principle of continuity of service among officers and teachers should receive far more attention in future from those in authority and that in this connexion the possibilities of shorter and more frequent leave periods should be explored.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 2

We recommend that local education authorities should finally be committees of African district councils, but that they should reach that constitution through the following successive stages:

- (a) a nominated advisory body;
- (b) an advisory body representative of the African district council, the missions, and the teachers in the area, but independent of the district council;
- (c) a body constituted as in (b) above, but with executive functions; and
- (d) a committee of the district council with added members representative of the missions or Churches in the area and of the local teachers, to which the district council should be required to delegate all functions relating to education except the approval of the annual estimates. These estimates should then be framed by the education committee and be subject to approval by the district council, which would then leave spending within the estimates entirely to the education committee during the ensuing year.

The Governor in Council in each territory would decide on the stage in the above development appropriate to the territory concerned or to different parts of it.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 3

We recommend that the bodies in immediate control of all schools should be named School Governors.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 4

We recommend that the missions and Churches should continue to be closely associated with the work and government of schools as defined in this chapter, but the professional supervision of all teaching except that of religious education should remain in the hands of qualified officers appointed and employed by the Government.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 5

We recommend that the Governor in Council shall have power, after due warning, to relieve of their duties for such period as seems to him to be necessary school governors who are grossly inefficient and to nominate in their place another governor or governors selected by him.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 6

We recommend that eventually all grant-aided schools should become at the same time State schools and religious schools, with governing bodies representative of the African local authorities and the African Church or Churches, and that as an immediate step in that direction every Government or Native Authority school should have a governing body on which missions working in the locality should be represented, while every mission school or group of schools should have an Advisory Committee on which the African local authority should be represented, this Advisory Committee to become a governing body in due course.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 7

We recommend that in each territory there should be a balance between the schools provided by one denomination and the schools provided for all the denominations mainly represented in the area, and that no territory should necessarily rely wholly on uni-denominational schools but should consult parents through the local education authorities as to the kind of school parents desire in each instance.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 8

We recommend

- (a) That Governments should plainly declare their moral and material support for deep and sincere religious belief as the basis of all education.
- (b) That all boarding schools and at any rate some large day schools should have their own places of worship.
- (c) That in teachers' training colleges and in schools a moral code should be inculcated by the active formation of good habits and the development of a strong community life. Actions which weaken community life, such as the removal, on intellectual grounds, of a pupil in the middle of his course, from one school community to another, should cease.
- (d) That the staffs of teachers' training colleges should be selected as examples of what their students ought to become, and that morality should be presented to students as a matter of principle and also of service to the community.
- (e) That the lives of great and good men and women should be vividly taught in all schools in order to personify moral qualities.
- (f) That the teaching of citizenship should continue in all places of education in ways suited to the age of pupils with the aim always of strengthening the moral basis of society.
- (g) That moral and practical support should be given to pioneer experiments in the field of interracial education
- (h) That the fostering of initiative and responsibility in schools and training colleges should receive great attention in the planning of their programmes of work.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 9

We recommend:

- (a) That while scholarship is of first-rate importance, an increased number of Europeans should be recruited for the African Education Service primarily with a view to their ability to inspire in their pupils a deep and abiding affection for rural life and the things of the country-side.
- (b) That the school curricula should be integrated as far as possible with the agricultural and other practical work in them.
- (c) That all the practical work in schools should have a real meaning to the pupils, and should never be allowed to become mechanical drudgery.
- (d) That in the middle school, agriculture should form the starting-point of a group of studies in which practical and theoretical work are closely integrated, and in the large majority of middle schools this group should form the central core of the whole curriculum, and that in the secondary school the importance should be emphasized of the school farm, and of a course in agriculture up to School Certificate standard.
- (e) That every secondary school should consider some well-managed agricultural work linked intelligently to some part of the academic work of the school in order that the future leaders of African life should be aware of the paramount importance of agriculture and of the dignity of manual tasks.
- (f) That while certain teachers should specialize in agriculture in their training and subsequent teaching, agriculture should be an integral part of the training of every teacher and should be included in the assessment at the end of his training.
- (g) That the dependence of Africa on agriculture, particularly in relation to the rapidly increasing population, should be emphasized in every teachers' training college and in every school.
- (h) That teachers' training colleges generally should be established in surroundings where an appreciation of the country-side can be linked with a proper understanding of the relationship between town and country.
- (i) That there should be the closest co-operation between the department of education and the administration and other specialist departments at all levels.
- (j) That the attack on agricultural ignorance should be made simultaneously by the schools and the agencies of adult education. To rely on the schools alone would be to underestimate the force of adult conservatism, to educate adults in agricultural knowledge and to produce a young educated *élite* divorced from the land would be equally fatal.
- (k) That technological education must be developed to keep pace with industrial expansion and to enable Africans to make their maximum contribution as skilled workers in accordance with the opportunities available in each area.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 10

We recommend that each territory should as quickly as possible alter its school organization to provide a four years' primary course, followed by a four years' intermediate or middle course, followed by a four years' secondary course, the last course leading to the School Certificate, and we recommend that at the earliest moment the present shorter courses which we consider wasteful should be merged in the four-year courses which we recommend.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 11

We recommend that legislation should be introduced to control the opening of private schools and to ensure their efficiency, but that efficient private schools should be encouraged by Government.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 12

We recommend that each territory should now reconsider its Development Plan and should begin by estimating as closely as possible the number of children in each year of school age. It should then state the proportion of the age-group who enter and who successfully complete a primary course of four years, a middle course of four years, and a secondary course of four years, so that all targets of advance can in future be expressed in terms of the proportion of the age-group who complete each of the school courses.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 13

We recommend that territories should reconsider their Development Plans in relation to an immediate target which is defined in terms of 50 per cent. of the age-group completing a four-year primary school course, 10 per cent. of the age-group completing a four-year middle school course, and 2 per cent. completing a four-year secondary school course. Territories differ greatly in resources, but it would be useful for each territory to estimate the number of years needed to reach this target and to express year by year its progress in terms of advance towards it. Such a target would by no means represent the final goal, but when achieved would represent a very great advance. When this target has been achieved a new target should be announced in each territory.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 14

We recommend that:

- (a) Scientific research should be undertaken at Makerere College and elsewhere into the causes of wastage.
- (b) In every teacher-training college the damage done by wastage should be impressed on students in training together with the necessity of keeping in touch with the homes of children on this and other points, and an appeal should be made to the sense of vocation of teachers on this issue. Visits should be arranged to schools where wastage has been cut down to a minimum.
- (c) Parents should have the importance of wastage explained to them and should be asked to undertake that their children shall complete the course; also the experiment should be tried of returning a proportion of the fees to those parents whose children successfully pass through the complete course at school.
- (d) The assistance of district commissioners, chiefs, and local African authorities should be enlisted in controlling wastage.
- (e) The ages of children entering school and the age-range per class should be controlled to ensure a reasonable chance that pupils will complete the course.
- (f) School fees should be moderate, and should be uniform throughout a course; and there should be a proper system for remission of fees in necessitous cases.
- (g) Special courses should be devised for those who do not enter school until they are ten years old or more.
- (h) Only in exceptional circumstances should a child be required to stay in the same class for a second year.
- (i) A concerted attack should be made on wastage over a whole territory by the application of every likely remedy simultaneously by all working in the field of education and social welfare.
- (j) A child should advance annually through the first four standards of the primary school without examinations or tests except in rare cases of retardation due to illness or some special cause.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 15

We recommend that in each territory a careful selection should be made of a few vernaculars so that systematic training in them and them alone can be given in a standardized orthography in all schools and colleges.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 16

We recommend that particular attention should be paid to the teaching of a selected vernacular language in the primary school; by speech, discussion, drama, and composition, as well as by reading to the degree that literature is available; and that the study should be used to root the child firmly in his environment.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 17

We recommend that in the middle and secondary schools the study of one or two vernaculars should be continued so far as teachers are available and large enough groups can be formed in a particular vernacular. In time this work should carry some pupils up to the level of the School Certificate examination in a chosen vernacular. The following of this policy will call for the continuation of vernacular language study at training colleges and the development of a School of African Languages at Makerere College, Uganda.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 18

We recommend that a policy should be followed which leads to the eventual elimination of Swahili from all schools where it is taught as a *lingua franca*. In putting this policy into effect different transitional policies could be followed by Kenya and Tanganyika. In Kenya, a policy of gradual elimination over the whole territory could be followed. In Tanganyika a more piecemeal policy would be wiser. At first one or two 'vernacular areas' (such as, for example, the Wagogo area) could be detached from the main Swahili-teaching *bloc* and in them a vigorous vernacular plus English policy pursued. This policy of 'detachment' could continue until in the end an area would be left in which only Swahili and English remained as teaching languages and where Swahili could grow to maturity as a vehicle of culture.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 19

We recommend that as soon as competent teachers are available the teaching of English should be begun in the second year of school life with the aim of giving in three years of study reading ability sufficient to ensure permanent literacy given adequate follow-up. By the time that the fourth class is reached English should be used as the medium of instruction in one or two subjects as an extension of the direct method of teaching it.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 20

We recommend that.

- (a) Wherever there is a qualified teacher of English in a school, his programme of work should be arranged so that he teaches English throughout the classes down to Class 11, the balance of his work being shared by his colleagues.
- (b) A special increment should be offered to all teachers at present unqualified to teach English who can pass a suitable test in English. Teachers with a knowledge of English should be urged to form small classes of their unqualified colleagues with a view to coaching them for this new test.
- (c) The training of teachers in the vernacular only should be stopped and great attention given in all training colleges to the study of English so that all future teachers emerge qualified to teach English in the schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 21

We recommend that a group of teachers with knowledge of modern methods of teaching reading and with African experience should produce a set of reading books and aids adapted to individual and group work in the primary school with a view to their production cheaply and in bulk for all the African territories.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 22

We recommend that in the primary school, English should be taught mainly to produce good reading ability but that in the middle and secondary schools an increasing attention should be given to spoken English. An oral examination in English should form part of the School Certificate examination and the literature papers should, by reference to contemporary and dramatic literature, or in other ways, help to raise the level of spoken English.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 23

We recommend that very great stress should be laid on the teaching of English in all training colleges, both as part of the general education of the student, and also to enable him to play an important part in a language policy which gives a quite new importance and weight equally to the study of selected vernaculars and to English.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 24

We recommend that the first stage of primary education should be considered as covering the first four years of school life and these years of study should be called Classes I, II, III, and IV.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 25

We recommend that as soon as any area is able to provide teachers and simple accommodation, the expedient of double sessions should be discarded.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 26

We recommend that administrative arrangements should allow of the inclusion amongst primary school teachers of some teachers with a high grade of training, and also of some Europeans, even if these are engaged for part-time in teaching in a primary school and part-time in a training college.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 27

We recommend that careful steps should be taken to introduce gradually into the schools modern activity methods of learning to replace passive class-teaching methods. If necessary, a small team of teachers experienced in such methods should be brought out to a selected training college to give a short demonstration of such methods and this demonstration should be followed by the slow and controlled extension of such methods from a single demonstration school to other schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 28

We recommend that selection for middle schools should follow the general principles found valid in England for selection for secondary schools, and not make use of the results of a subject examination at the end of the primary school course.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 29

We recommend that the basis of the curriculum in the middle school should be a carefully integrated scheme of practical and theoretical work so devised that the academic work rises always from practical and concrete beginnings.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 30

We recommend that advantage should be taken of the fact that the great elasticity of the new English General Certificate in Education makes it more suited to the needs of the African secondary school than the present Cambridge Certificate, which, in addition to its rigidity, still reflects in some papers an urban and European outlook.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 31

We recommend that all territories should make provision for external candidates to take the Secondary leaving examinations, such candidates paying for the costs of their examinations, invigilation, and marking, &c.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 32

We recommend that

- (a) As a general rule technical education should be based on eight years of general education.
- (b) Technical education should maintain the closest relations with industry in order to meet recruitment requirements fully but without danger of unemployment, in order to place students satisfactorily at the end of their course and in order to secure the institution of apprenticeship.
- (c) Technical schools should take special care to prevent wastage of students during their courses
- (d) Technical schools should be large enough to offer a variety of courses.
- (e) Technical teachers should be particularly skilled and intelligent craftsmen who have afterwards taken a course in a teacher-training college, and handicraft teachers in middle and secondary schools should be trained teachers who have afterwards taken a technical course.

In addition we desire to endorse the following recommendations contained in Dr. F. J. Harlow's Memorandum to the Colonial Office dated 7 February 1951.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 33

- (a) An Apprenticeship Scheme is recommended which includes three years at a Trade Training Centre with a further two years 'on-training' in the Public Works Department or, where possible, in industry under supervisors trained in the methods of Training Within Industry. Throughout the training suitable provision should be made for the technical and general education of the apprentices.
- (b) The award of a Territorial Craftsman's Certificate on satisfactory conclusion of five years' apprenticeship is strongly recommended.
- (c) It is recommended that as an external test of progress in technical education apprentices should be encouraged to sit for the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute in their respective crafts
- (d) In addition to class-rooms and drawing-offices, laboratories are needed for the teaching of Building, Engineering, and Electrical Science.
- (e) The establishment of short courses of training for supervisors to be responsible for on-training in Industry is recommended, preferably at one of the principal Trade Training Centres.
- (f) It is recommended that an Apprenticeship Council be appointed by the Governor of each territory and suggestions for its composition are made. This council would exercise whatever responsibilities may be entrusted to it for the satisfactory conduct of apprenticeship schemes and would maintain close touch with the Labour and Education Departments.
- (g) While under present conditions there is little opportunity for women to obtain gainful employment in plying skilled trades, with rapid social changes which may be expected, early preparation is necessary for training women for such trades as catering and garment manufacture.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 34

We recommend that the primary school course should be based on the realities of rural life.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 35

We recommend that the primary school should be used as a demonstration centre for teaching the main lessons of good food production to the adults of its region.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 36

We recommend that pupils who leave the primary school should remain associated with it through activities of the Young Farmers' Club type.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 37

We recommend that adult education should always be the responsibility of a Department of Education under the direction of a senior officer whose experience would not be likely to lead him to think in terms of formal education but to act with the same kind of imagination as is at present often shown by the Social Welfare Departments.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 38

We recommend that one definite aim in adult education should be that of 'following up' primary education by the supply and distribution of a much greater volume of inexpensive literature which would follow on from the primary school but be designed to meet adolescent and adult interests.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 39

We recommend that standing camps should be set up at which ex-primary-school pupils should attend a short educational and recreational course at some time between the ages of fifteen and twenty.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 40

We recommend that mass literacy campaigns should only be begun when it is clear that their work can be sustained into the future.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 41

We recommend that the techniques of a mass education campaign in English suited to Africa should be worked out and a pilot scheme begun.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 42

We recommend that there should be an expansion in the use of visual and oral methods in adult education, i.e. by film and radio, but particularly by the wide use of striking posters which, for example, display the few simple truths of better food production.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 43

We recommend that the library services of a territory should be under the direction of an education officer who should co-ordinate existing work and plan for expansion.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 44

We recommend that where Unit Libraries of a Library Service are placed in an educational institution to be used as a centre for a region, wherever possible a training college should be used as such a centre.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 45

We recommend that the two Literature Bureaux should take every step to increase production and extend the distribution of literature.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 46

We recommend that all co-operative societies should be required to set aside a percentage of profits to be devoted to work in co-operative education.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 47

We recommend that a great new pioneer effort in adult education should be made by the Churches and that they should, by contracting some of their educational work which at present yields small returns, embark strongly upon a new venture in this field.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 48

We recommend that in order to reduce the present large disparity between the relative numbers of girls and boys in all school classes except the first two, bursaries open to girls only should be offered to cover the whole or part of the fees due in respect of the attendance of girls.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 49

We recommend that every possible practical step should be taken to increase the recruitment of girls for the profession of teaching, especially of those who intend to teach in the primary school, so that the proportion of women teaching in these schools is steadily increased.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 50

We recommend that a working party should be set up in each territory to draw up a new integrated curriculum of studies for girls in the middle school in which the study of Household Arts will be linked with work that is often dealt with more formally under the subject-titles of, for example, Health, Civics, Art, Crafts, Biology, Mathematics, or Languages.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 51

We recommend that, as qualities of responsibility and leadership are needed in the African women who will become leaders in their territories, for the development of these qualities in all girls' schools and colleges a very great advance should be made in the material conditions of their life so that by the provision of amenities for privacy and the expression of personality, as well as facilities for exercising initiative and decision, a mental climate will be created that fosters independence.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 52

We recommend that every inducement should be offered to married women who are trained teachers to make their return to teaching easy, convenient, and efficient.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 53

We recommend that priority should now be given to providing trades and technical training for women and girls in the fields of needlecraft, catering, institutional management, and secretarial arts.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 54

We recommend that special adult courses should be devised for the wives of Africans going overseas for further education, and for the wives of married teachers taking courses of initial or in-service training.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 55

We recommend that in order to deepen the contribution of European women to African education the following practical steps should be taken to assist their work:

- (a) Annual grants for travelling should be given to enable visits to be exchanged by women engaged in education in isolated areas.
- (b) Short tours should be arranged to ensure continuity of staffing and to keep staff abreast of educational development.
- (c) Regular in-service training should be provided in the United Kingdom, especially for foreign women educationalists holding grant-aided posts.

(d) No grant-aided post should be held by a foreign woman educationalist unless she has an excellent command of English and uses it as the language of daily life in the school or college.

(e) A larger number of travelling Women Education Officers should be recruited to act as liaison between practitioners, to moderate standards, and to stimulate enterprising work. They should give general guidance and act as specialist consultants over wider areas than their own administrative district.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 56

We recommend that research projects into problems affecting women and girls should accompany and influence educational developments.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 57

We recommend that:

- (a) Every territory should make a revised estimate of the number of teachers needed for educational advance in each of the next ten years.
- (b) The training of teachers after only six years' schooling should be discontinued.
- (c) Every effort should be made to up-grade existing vernacular teachers, particularly by refresher courses.
- (d) A third year of training should be provided in handicraft, domestic science, and agriculture in order to provide sufficient teachers of these subjects, particularly for the middle schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 58

We recommend that training colleges should be urged to foster in every way possible the development in students of a strong sense of professional loyalty to the education service of a territory.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 59

We recommend that where there is a shortage of teachers, any system of 'quotas' or 'rationing' should not be pushed to the degree which results in the serious retardation of progressive areas where there is great keenness on education.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 60

We recommend that the financial and material conditions which apply to intending teachers should be on a basis of equality with those which apply to similar trainees in other Government departments.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 61

We recommend that the transport of students, particularly girls and women students, to and from schools and training college should be a matter of careful organization and the development of a scheme of financial assistance.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 62

We recommend that a Unified Teaching Service to include all teachers employed in grant-aided schools should be instituted without delay.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 63

We recommend that there should be no discrepancy between the salary scales of teachers and those which apply to other civil servants of similar qualifications and training, and that there should be contributory pension schemes for all teachers in grant-aided schools.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 64

We recommend that the Composite Training Centre, where teachers, and agricultural and health assistants are all trained

in the same institution has great advantages over the normal training college and as many as possible of such centres should be established.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 65

We recommend that every territory should work out a programme of concentration of centres so that by 1955 no training college existed with a community of fewer than 120 students. Large colleges are equally inadvisable, and colleges should rarely, if ever, exceed three times this number in size.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 66

We recommend that before being put into general use new syllabuses should be given a period of trial by selected training colleges and their practising and demonstration schools and then revised in the light of that experience.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 67

We recommend that the present courses of training for teachers need to be revised so as to make experience the starting-point of their work. This could be done by the study of Development Plans and Wastage, the observation of children and groups, the construction of Teaching Aids, the use of a period of Social Welfare practice; experience of the Project Method, and the careful integration of a substantial period of Teaching Practice with the theoretical work of the course.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 68

We recommend that the scheme of examinations for training college students should be revised so that written papers are limited in number but practical work is carefully assessed.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 69

We recommend that:

- (a) Each territory should co-ordinate its teacher-training along the lines of the English Institutes of Education, with variations to allow for the geographical, social, and linguistic conditions of each territory
- (b) A territorial Institute should exercise the following functions:
 - (i) The co-ordination of the work of all engaged in training teachers in the territory.
 - (ii) The examinations and recommendations for qualification of all students in training.
 - (iii) The in-service training of teachers.
 - (iv) The development of research plans and the allocation of research projects to training colleges and schools.
- (c) In its organization the Institute should follow a modified form of English practice. On the Board of the Institute, a policy-determining body, there should be represented the Department of Education, the Training Colleges, the Churches, the Local Government Education Committees, and a few representatives of serving teachers. A Professional Committee should be responsible for all questions of admission, programmes of study at training colleges, and examination of students. A Research Committee and a Committee for In-Service Training could either be set up as parallel committees or as sub-committees of the Professional Committee.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 70

We recommend the following ways for encouraging in-service training for those engaged in education in Africa and for facilitating exchange of advice and information between Africa and Great Britain.

- (a) Those engaged in the practice or administration of

education should be linked with the appropriate professional association in Great Britain.

- (b) A Standing Professional Committee of educationalists should be set up in Great Britain to whom Colonial educationalists could turn for advice.
- (c) Existing courses of professional training in Great Britain for those both going to and coming from Colonial territories should be periodically reviewed in consultation with Colonial Departments of Education to see that they are relevant to present-day conditions and designed to meet current developments.
- (d) *Ad hoc* schemes should be devised so that by visits and conferences urgent educational problems are attacked.
- (e) A bureau should be established in Great Britain to provide information and help about refresher courses and conferences in Great Britain so that educationalists on leave could be enabled to spend a part of their leave in further education.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 71

We recommend that.

- (a) Tuition and boarding fees should be charged in all schools.
- (b) Fees should be uniform throughout a school course and uniform in similar schools throughout a territory.
- (c) Tuition fees should be approximately equal to the cost of consumable equipment supplied to the individual pupil in school and boarding fees approximately equal to the cost of food and clothing supplied to the individual pupil of the school.
- (d) Remission or reduction of fees should be authorized now by district commissioners and eventually by African local authorities, who should be charged with the duties of making all possible inquiries in the locality concerning a parent's ability to pay. Advice on this point could be obtained from local authorities, missions, chiefs, and teachers.
- (e) Fees should be collected by school teachers and paid into the account of a mission or a Government office, but the receipt and disposal of all fees should be audited under arrangements made by the district commissioner or district education officer.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 72

We recommend that in every boarding school aided from public funds.

- (a) Government, Native Authority, or mission should provide adequate food for the pupils and ensure that it is cooked and eaten under hygienic conditions.
- (b) Beds should be provided for sleeping, together with adequate bedding, and the number of beds in each dormitory should be approved by a responsible officer in every boarding school.
- (c) Each dormitory should be adequately supervised by someone in authority sleeping in the same building under arrangements for which the headmaster or headmistress of the school takes full responsibility.
- (d) The arrangements for providing drinking-water and facilities for the pupils to wash themselves and their clothes should be approved by a responsible officer.
- (e) Latrines should similarly be approved by a responsible officer.
- (f) Everything possible should be done to make the living and sleeping quarters such as will raise the social standards of the pupils.
- (g) Adequate supplies of suitable lighting should be available both for preparation of work and for social activities.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 73

We recommend that boarding schools should provide school uniforms and charge for these uniforms as part of the boarding fee.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 74

We recommend that schools should provide buses or lorries wherever there is an economic load of pupils, particularly for girls, for part or the whole of the distance to be covered, charging each pupil his proportion of the cost, and that the parent of any pupil who is of opinion that the travelling costs he has to bear are beyond his capacity should be able to apply for assistance to the chief or district commissioner where he lives, the district commissioner having power to repay the charges or part of them if he considers that a case has been made out for doing so after making inquiries from chiefs, missions, and teachers on the spot. Ultimately this power should pass from the district commissioner to the local authority as the latter gains sufficient experience in administration, the local authority acting as adviser to the district commissioner during an intermediate stage.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 75

We recommend that

- (a) City councils, town councils, and other interracial urban authorities should become local education authorities financing and controlling primary and day intermediate schools in their several areas.
- (b) The missions and Native Churches should focus much more of their attention than at present on the urban areas and particularly on the provision of a religious basis for education and youth work in those areas.
- (c) As soon as possible eight years' compulsory education between the ages of seven and fifteen should be provided in urban areas.
- (d) Youth work in urban areas should be greatly intensified under the general management of a Council for Social Services for each area; that every industrial and commercial firm employing more than a certain number of African employees should be required to provide a welfare service approved by the local Council for Social Services, and that industrial and commercial firms should also be encouraged to take a lively interest on a voluntary basis in the welfare of the families of their adult employees and of the young people they employ.

- (e) Adequate provision for school sites with playing-fields and for playing-fields included in welfare schemes should be made at once in the planning schemes for the development and enlargement of urban areas.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 76

We recommend that

- (a) Primary and day intermediate schools should be financed by local authorities and the governors of primary and day intermediate schools should be responsible to local authorities.
- (b) Secondary and intermediate boarding schools should be financed by central Governments and that governors of secondary schools and intermediate boarding schools should be responsible to central Governments.
- (c) Government or the local authority as the case may be should pay for teachers in mission or Church schools in accordance with approved qualifications, establishments, and salary scales.
- (d) The cost of buildings and furniture in uni-denominational schools should be shared between Government and the local authority on the one hand and the Church or mission on the other in accordance with a percentage to be agreed separately in each territory.
- (e) Grants should be accompanied by grant regulations.
- (f) Teacher-training should be financed by central Governments, and governors of teacher-training colleges should be responsible to central Governments. Central Governments should pay the salaries of lecturers on approved establishments, qualifications, and salary scales and in the case of mission or Church training colleges the cost of premises should be shared between Governments and the Church concerned on a basis to be agreed in each territory.
- (g) The finance of teacher-training colleges should be put on exactly the same basis as the training recruits for other Government departments as regards fees, pocket-money, and all other payments made to or by trainees.
- (h) Teachers' salaries should be zoned only when other Government officials' salaries are zoned.
- (i) Local authorities should finance the day-to-day management of mission or Church schools by missionaries or Church workers through the payment of an agreed proportion of the cost of the salary of each manager or supervisor, the number of managers required being based on the number of teachers supervised, again on a basis to be agreed with each territory.

APPENDIX II

ZANZIBAR

We recommend:

1. That having regard to the special conditions of primary education in Zanzibar, the first stage of education should remain one of six years.
2. That the immediate targets of primary education should be all the pupils in Zanzibar City whose parents are willing to send them to school, and 50 per cent. of the children in the rural areas.
3. That the rural middle school be re-established in a rural setting with access to good agricultural land, and that it be expanded to a two-stream course of four years.

4. (a) That the girls' secondary school be rehoused as quickly as possible.
- (b) That trades training in such skills as embroidery, lingerie, and dress-making should be developed with the view to establishing home industries.
- (c) That special homecraft courses in an enlarged Domestic Science Centre should be run for girls who have left school and for young married women.
5. That consideration be given to the establishment of a day technical school in Zanzibar City.
6. That in view of the difficulties of finance which are

holding up expansion of the educational system, fees should be charged in primary schools with remissions and reductions where necessary.

7. That instead of lengthening the course in the teachers' training college to three years, students should be

admitted after ten years at school instead of after eight as at present.

8. That experiments should be instituted to expand adult education.

BRITISH SOMALILAND

We recommend:

1. That the primary course continue to be one of three years, having regard to the comparative excellence of the teaching and the foundation of the primary course in the Koran schools.
2. That primary schools be provided as quickly as possible for all the children living in the urban and settled areas whose parents are willing to send them to school.
3. That the primary course be followed by an intermediate course for all pupils living in settled urban areas, with the exception of the comparatively few pupils who prove incapable of proceeding to further education or wish to go to the trade school
4. That in the trade school the general education of the pupils be continued since it is intended to recruit them from the primary schools.

5. That the primary and intermediate school buildings be provided in future by the local urban communities of the area in which they are situated, acting through the School Committees established by the Education Department.
6. That a small senior secondary boarding school organized on tutorial lines be provided as soon as possible in association with one of the intermediate schools
7. That experimental pre-marriage courses should be started for girls in settled areas.
8. That the help of married women in girls' education should always be encouraged.
9. That an immediate beginning should be made with the education of nomadic peoples on lines discussed in the territory with the Education Department.

Record of the Conference Proceedings

I. INTRODUCTION

THE conference sat in King's College, Cambridge, from the 8th to the 20th September 1952, under the Chairmanship of Sir Philip Morris, C.B.E., Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University. A list of the members attending the conference is given in an appendix. Each of the African territories sent a representative team.

The conference divided itself into five groups, A to E. Each group studied one aspect of African education. Group A studied *Responsibility and Control*; Group B, *The Expansion of the Educational System*; Group C, *The Teaching Profession*; Group D, *Organization and the Curriculum*; Group E, *Education and the Adult*. The main work of the conference was carried on in the five groups. Each group presented to the full conference a pair of papers on its deliberations, and each of the ten papers thus produced was discussed at a full session. The groups were left a free hand in conducting their affairs and in presenting their papers; and consequently there was no attempt to enforce uniformity in style or layout. Some groups arranged their work so that their first paper was a preliminary survey of their whole field, to be covered and largely superseded by a more detailed survey in the second paper. Others so arranged their work that their two papers were instalments of a continuous study. The discussions in full session were similarly varied. In some cases they ranged widely over the field of the group paper, in others they concentrated much more on a few main issues.

This variety both in the shape of the group papers and in the course of the discussions which were based on them has made it impossible to produce a record in which all five subjects are treated exactly alike. This record, as far as the five main subjects are concerned, is based upon three sets of documents: the group papers themselves, a summary of the discussions of the first set of group papers, and a verbatim transcript of the discussions of the second set. One important fact is that no attempt was made during the conference to frame resolutions to be accepted, with or without amendment, by the full conference. The groups did, as a matter of fact, reach agreement on many issues, and in full sessions it often happened that several speakers explicitly said that they agreed with this or that statement in the paper under discussion. But never was there a resolution passed at a full session.

Nevertheless, it has been felt that the editor of this record should give the best indication he can of the mind of the conference, aiding the written record with his personal memory of the meetings. Now this leads to the adoption of certain principles of editing, and it is important that these principles should be clearly stated. First of all, it is essential that readers should know clearly where the editor is speaking and where they are reading the authentic text. Second, the five group reports, and the text of what was said in discussing them, are the basic documents. They are the facts, which, as C. P. Scott said, are sacred. Third,

there is another sort of fact, intangible but equally important: proportion, and the background assumptions which are not expressed in discussion. If, for example, one point occupied half the time of the discussion, it must not be assumed that any member of the conference thought it the most important point.

The editor has tried to carry out these principles in the following ways. First, in arranging the material. The general plan of the record of each of the five main subjects is that it begins with an editorial introduction which tries to give the atmosphere of the session, and an analysis of the main tendency in the group papers, and of the mind of the conference. Then follows the group paper. The group papers have received the minimum of editing, and the greatest care has been taken to avoid any modification of their substance, proportions, or argument. Editorial modifications in the group papers have been limited to the following: (a) correction of looseness in grammar and style. These papers were produced in great haste, and the authors had no time to revise them for the press. (b) Sometimes the groups accepted suggestions made during the discussion, or themselves suggested revisions of their paper in the light of subsequent discussion; these suggestions or revisions have been incorporated in the original text, as nearly as possible in the group's own words. (c) Some of the sub-titles have been rearranged to make the layout clearer, and fresh sub-titles inserted where necessary. Sub-titling is a matter which cannot be done in haste. (d) Inconsistencies of usage have been removed. There was, for example, a general tendency for groups to begin writing of themselves in the third person, but as they warmed to their work to replace 'The group thought' by 'We think'.

There has been no alteration or rearrangement of the texts of the group reports except in accordance with the above principles. What is printed here is what the groups certainly meant to say, altered from what they actually did say only as we may confidently assume that the groups themselves would wish. Where the second paper produced by a group was clearly meant to supersede the first (as in Groups C, D, E) only the final paper is reprinted. Where the group's first and second papers form a continuous whole (Groups A and B), both are reprinted as one document.

After the text of the group paper comes a summary of the full session discussion. This summary has been edited in the following ways: (a) When it ranged over several points, speeches have been rearranged under the appropriate headings, so that the discussion under each heading is consecutive. (b) To avoid the monotony of long stretches of past-tense reported speech, speeches are summarized in direct speech. What is printed does not necessarily reproduce the actual words used by the speaker, though it may include verbatim quotations. But it does reproduce the substance of what he said. (c) No names are mentioned,

and unless a speaker is avowedly speaking in a representative capacity, no indication is given of who he or she is. As a matter of layout, every new speaker begins a new paragraph, and every new paragraph a new speaker. If a speaker deals with more than one point, his speech is summarized in one paragraph, with the different points indicated (a), (b), (c), and so on. This layout avoids the necessity of indicating anonymous speakers by numbers or letters of the alphabet. (d) Nothing has been added to represent a point of view implied, but not expressed. The place for such editorial conjecture is in the introductory section; the summary of the discussion is a record of fact. To make it plain where the editor is speaking, and where a member

of the conference, all editorial matter in the summary of the discussions (not elsewhere in this record) is printed in italics, and summaries of speeches are printed in roman. (e) Speeches are not reported unless they add something to the discussion. They may be omitted if, for example, they merely express agreement or disagreement (without argument), ask questions for clarification, raise purely local points which are not taken up by later speakers, make suggestions which the group subsequently adopted in revising its report, or (which seldom happened) raise pure debating points. In each case, the record gives the total number of speakers taking part in the discussion, so that readers can see for themselves how full the record is.

2. GROUP A: RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL

The five sub-heads into which the subject of Group A's discussions were divided fall under two main headings: the relationship between the voluntary agencies and the organs of the State, and the relationship between the central and local organs of the State itself. The first of these is a thorny problem; it has caused great trouble in the development of English education, and tends to be charged with emotion in Africa also. It is not surprising that both in the group's paper and in the discussion in full session it occupied more attention than the equally important but less deeply felt problem of the relationship between Central Government and local authorities.

As one member of the conference pointed out in the discussion, it is important that the term 'voluntary agency' should not be misunderstood. The term is not merely a euphemism for 'missionary society'. A voluntary agency is an individual or any voluntary body, such as a church or a secular committee, which runs a school, as distinct from a local government body or the central Government. Many voluntary agency schools in Africa are run by trusts or committees composed entirely of Africans. Further, Christianity has made such progress in Africa that in many places there are self-governing African Churches. One member of the conference described the controlling body of one voluntary agency which consisted of three European missionaries and over forty African clergy and laity. Several speakers stressed the fact that voluntary agencies, denominational as well as secular, were often just as African in composition and in feeling as some local government authorities themselves.

The group began by laying it down that there comes a time in the development of a nation and of its educational system when the nation assumes responsibility for the control of education; and it is clear that the group thought this time had already arrived in some parts of Africa. But this education must not be purely secular; it must have a religious basis, and this basis can only be assured if religious bodies are formally associated with Government bodies in the control of education. There must be full and ungrudging partnership between the voluntary agencies and the central or local government bodies, each partner recognizing the value of the other's contribution. The necessity of this full and ungrudging partnership was fully recognized by the conference. No fewer than 25 out of 39 speakers in the final discussion spent most of their time

in stressing this. Although, as will appear later, some members of the conference made reservations on the subject of the Churches' financial contribution, there was general agreement that effective control of education by a local authority or the central Government was bound to come. There was general agreement moreover that the Churches should have some share in this control, and might even have a formal and statutory place on the controlling body.¹

The question is, How is this partnership to be given effect? The group surveyed the English system of boards of management, and the Scottish system of 'transferred' schools and of local authority control. It considered that there were elements in each of these systems which, with suitable modification, might be applied in Africa. With some hesitation, the group favoured a system by which all the voluntary agency schools should be placed under boards of management, with the aim of transferring them eventually to central or local authority control somewhat on the lines of the Scottish system; the educational authority would provide the finance, the voluntary agency would be given substantial (if not majority) representation on the board of management, and there should be statutory safeguards as regards the appointment of staff and the provision of religious instruction. The conference was entirely in favour of composite boards of management, but there was some discussion, and disagreement, as to whether, in the case of Church schools thus transferred, the Church should make any financial contribution, or none at all, and should receive only substantial, or actual majority representation on the board of management. Some Church representatives felt that the religious character of their schools could be assured only if at any rate for the present they retained a majority representation on the board of management, and paid part of the cost of the school.

On this question, the group's views seemed to harden as time went on. In their first paper they tentatively suggested that the Scottish system of transferred schools had value in suggesting certain essentials which must be preserved in Africa. In their second paper they said that the Scottish system provided very useful guidance on the func-

¹ The religious basis of education is assumed elsewhere: see paragraph 23 of Group B's report, page 155, paragraph 14 of Group C's report, page 161, paragraphs 7 to 10 in Group D's report, pages 167-8, and paragraph 15 in Group E's report, page 179.

tions of local authorities, and that the cost, both capital and recurrent, of all approved schools at present controlled by voluntary agencies should be met entirely from public funds. They expressly added that they had considered, and rejected, the recommendation in paragraph 362 of the Binns Report¹ that Churches should continue to pay part of the cost of their schools. But their reasons for rejecting it did not convince all members of the conference.

No general agreement was reached on this point. Everybody agreed that the Churches and other voluntary agencies must work in the closest partnership with the State, and that the cost of education was so heavy that the State must bear by far the larger part. Everybody agreed also that the religious character of the education given in Church schools must be preserved. The conference was not of one mind on the question whether it could be preserved, and the partnership made a reality, if the Church had, say, one-third of the votes on a board of management and the State paid the whole cost of running the school, or only if the Church had, say, two-thirds of the votes on the board of management and paid some part of the cost.

The group spent a great deal of time in discussing the development of local education authorities, and the division of educational responsibility between the central and the local governments. On the development of local education authorities, the group gives general support to the suggestions made in the Binns Report. On the division of responsibility, the group took the trouble to draw up a suggested scheme. On the important question of school inspection, it is quite decided that this must be the responsibility of the central Government, while the routine supervision and administration may be left to the local authority. Its other suggestions on this matter were admittedly tentative, and they attracted little attention in the general discussion. The conference agreed with the group's own view that this was a matter which would be arranged differently in different territories, and differently in the same territory at different times.

The group gives two warnings on the question of finance. The first is that central Governments must not expect local authorities to be able to meet the full cost of primary and intermediate schools; they will need assistance from central funds. The second warning is that the heavy capital cost of new buildings in an expanding system should not be financed out of current revenue, but out of local government loans, so that the capital costs may be spread over the life of the buildings.²

The most important upshot of the conference on the subject of responsibility and control is the community of view which was expressed, both by African members and by European missionary members of the conference, that education can be carried on only through an effective partnership between the State and the voluntary agencies. Africans agreeing that the religious character of Church schools should be preserved, and that Churches should be assured by statute of substantial representation on boards of management and other governing bodies, and European missionaries and other speakers agreeing that there must be the fullest African participation in management, that

the main responsibility for ensuring secular efficiency and for providing finance must rest with the State, and that the State (probably through local education authorities) must exercise its general responsibility in the control of the schools.

We now reprint the text of the group's report. In its original form it was divided into two papers, the second paper beginning with several paragraphs which propose revisions in the first paper. These paragraphs have been deleted and their proposals carried out, so that the document now appears as a connected whole.

GROUP A RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL

1. The subject of our discussion falls into five parts: (1) The Division of Responsibility, Central and Local; (2) The Relationship between the Voluntary Agencies and (a) the Central Government, (b) the Local Authorities; (3) The Relationship between the Executive and the Inspectorate; (4) School Ownership and Management; (5) The Provision of Finance. These five sections are, of course, closely interrelated.

2. Very conscious of the extent and complexity of even this part of our task, we sought to delimit and simplify our problems by agreement on the general principles implicit in the two reports, and after discussion we unanimously accepted:

- (a) that local government must mean nothing less than a real measure of local control and responsibility;
- (b) that there comes a stage in the development of a country's education when it must be the responsibility of the nation as an ordered society acting through its established forms of government;
- (c) that secular education is not enough, and that our deliberations presuppose an education with a religious basis and a spiritual doctrine of human nature and destiny,
- (d) that without the formal association of religious bodies with the established secular forms of Government, there can be no effectual guarantee of the type of education which we presuppose.³

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES AND STATUTORY AUTHORITIES

3. It follows from 2 (c) that the close relationship of the voluntary agencies with education rests not simply on past services but even more on the indispensable contribution they have still to make, and the problem is how to find the best means of furthering their co-operation with the statutory authorities

4. The group noted the tentative conclusion of paragraph 298 of the West African report that such guidance as United Kingdom experience and practice afford is likely to be found in the status of either 'aided' or 'controlled' schools in England or in the provision for the 'transferred' schools under the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918. Being less well informed about the Scottish system, we gave it more detailed consideration and felt

¹ Page 132.

² On the question of finance, see also paragraph 9 in Group B's report, page 153.

³ This fourth principle arose out of the group's discussions on paragraph 8, and was added to this paragraph by the group's second paper.—Editor

that it might be useful to ourselves and the conference to set down these relevant points:

Transferred Schools (about one-sixth of population):

5. (a) Faced with ever-mounting costs the Roman Catholic and the Scottish Episcopal Churches agreed to transfer their schools to the new (County) Education Authorities, having secured the two statutory safeguards that (i) all teachers appointed must be approved as regards religious belief and character by the Church concerned, and (ii) that religious instruction should continue according to the custom of the schools, the time allowed for it to be not less than before transference. On these two conditions the schools were transferred and became in the fullest sense public (i.e. authority) schools, the Education Authority having complete control of secular instruction and also of the appointment, conditions of service, and dismissal of teachers
- (b) A voluntary school established after the passing of the Act might be transferred on the same terms as above.
- (c) The arbiter in any dispute between the voluntary agency and the Education Authority is (or is appointed by) the Scottish Education Department (i.e. the Central Government).
- (d) Where a fully-qualified teacher of their own religious persuasion is not available for a particular post, the Churches concur in the appointment (temporarily, at least) of an outsider.

Non-Transferred Schools (about five-sixths of the whole population):

6. (a) Religious instruction is given in accordance with an agreed syllabus.
- (b) No decision by a (County) Education Authority to discontinue religious instruction would be valid, unless confirmed by a poll of the local Government electors of that area taken for the purpose (In fact, no Education Authority has ever proposed to do so.)
- (c) There is a conscience clause which secures the parent's right to withdraw his child from religious instruction or observance.
- (d) Religious instruction is not inspected or examined. The headmaster has a responsibility to see that it is carried out.
- (e) A teacher is not required to give religious instruction if he feels in conscience unable to do so.
- (f) Teachers are trusted not to abuse their position or to influence children improperly in matters of religion.

7. The Education Authority, which controls non-transferred and transferred schools alike, is the County or City Council, acting through its Education Committee, which must contain a majority of elected members. Its co-opted members include Church representatives and others. The County Council retains financial control and must approve the annual estimates of its Education Committee, which otherwise has full freedom of action.

Applicability of United Kingdom system to African conditions

8. We cannot find in either the English system or the Scottish a pattern of relationships which is generally or

without modification applicable to Africa. But it seems to us that the Scottish system of local authority control provides very useful guidance on the functions of local authorities, and that the English system of boards of management has much to commend it as far as individual schools or groups of schools are concerned. It goes without saying that great modifications would be necessary to suit varying African conditions. There are certain essentials which must find a place in any satisfactory agreement between statutory authorities and voluntary agencies:

- (a) The functions of local education authorities in regard to the management of schools must be clearly defined.
- (b) It is essential to specify by statute or instrument of management the bodies which are to be represented. As conditions vary so from area to area, it will be necessary for each authority to have its own composition, appropriate to local circumstances and approved by the central Government.
- (c) It is admittedly desirable that the co-opted members should include persons chosen on purely educational grounds, but the voluntary agencies *must* in every instance be represented as such: partly in order that their accumulated experience may be made available, but mainly for the sake of their essential contribution to the religious character of education.
- (d) It is necessary to indicate the functions of managers, and what qualifications are required where a manager's duties are to include supervision.

Note on Uni-Denominational and Multi-Denominational Schools

9. Without prejudice to further consideration of paragraph 30 of the Binns report, we put the following on record. In areas where only one school can be justified on economic and educational grounds but where the people are not in the main members or adherents of a single Church, it will clearly be inequitable to permit the establishment of a uni-denominational school. This principle is winning acceptance from many of the voluntary agencies in certain territories. Where the agencies cannot agree, the district education board or other competent authority usually sets up what is in effect a local education authority school.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY, CENTRAL AND LOCAL

10. Discussion has so far yielded us little more than a fresh and painful awareness of the immense complexity of the problem and of its intractability to any tidy, uniform, schematic handling. Over against the bewildering diversity of conditions between territory and territory, and even between areas or regions of the same territory, is the slight and doubtful validity of all conclusions drawn from English or Scottish experience. Among the factors which tend to invalidate direct application of British models to Africa are:

- (a) In Britain there is a system of universal compulsory education, whereas the educational systems of Africa have still many stages to traverse before reaching that stage.
- (b) There is in Britain, but not yet in Africa, a teaching profession adequate in number, reasonably

homogeneous in qualification, and at a level of responsibility which would largely insure the continuance of the essential work of the schools, even if much of the machinery of administration and supervision were faulty or missing.

- (c) There are available in Britain for public service considerable numbers of men and women whose quality, even if it might be higher, is none the less such as is possible only in a country which is both educationally and politically mature; there are far fewer such people in Africa.
- (d) In the United Kingdom the Central Government has no executive function in education, but the Central Governments of Africa have many.

Moreover, administration in the United Kingdom is more than the sum of its parts, nor can the secret of its strength and workability be wrested from any list of functions and their formal apportionment between central and local authorities. There remain the subtle but powerful interactions of its elements, interactions which can be felt from within the system but not analysed from without, much less reproduced under very different conditions.

11. We make no apology for dwelling at some length on these considerations, believing that to succumb to oversimplifications is an ever-present danger in our thinking about the development of educational administration in Africa.

12. But to face difficulties is not to counsel inaction. However little the English pattern be immediately applicable to African conditions, Africa has in fact been offered and has found good the essence of English local government, namely a real devolution of power and responsibility from the centre; and we had no hesitation in setting this down as one of our three initial principles in this report. Moreover, administrative advance must come to terms with political realities. If Africans are to find adequate expression for their new hopes and aspirations they must have opportunity to serve the public interests of their country in their immediate communities, and real service needs an element of responsibility. Moreover, such participation in local affairs is at once a present service and a preparation for the larger services the future will require of them, and history provides no formula by which peoples can arrive at full political maturity, save along the hard road of steadily increasing executive responsibility.

13. That is why the Binns report (Chapter III) is to be warmly commended for coming to grips with this problem in setting down specifically the four stages in the evolution of local education authorities, with the twofold advance from the advisory function to the executive and from the nominated basis to the elected or representative.

14. We have four comments to offer here:

- (a) Unless we have misunderstood its import, we think recommendation (2) is slightly misleading in form. We take it to mean that district councils would ultimately be the local education authorities, which would establish (after the English pattern) education committees, to whom they would delegate all educational functions except the approval of the annual estimates.
- (b) While some of our members would incline to by-pass the middle stages in certain cases, the group as a

whole thinks the normal progression should not be disturbed or unwisely speeded up.

- (c) *Ad hoc* Education Authorities may be transition forms but should not survive as the final pattern in a fully developed African system.
- (d) It should be noted that the Binns scheme allows of two distinct ways in which progress can be combined with ensuring the necessary experience (i) to confront the local education authorities with many and important problems but to prolong the advisory stage and (ii) to pass more swiftly to the executive stage, but to take care that the functions and the responsibilities given them are, although real, sufficiently few in number not to overwhelm a body still serving its apprenticeship.

The general course of political development will in many territories almost certainly suggest recourse to the second method. If so, it is essential to success that there should be at the service of the local authority an efficient executive officer who will in the early stages probably have to be a central Government officer on secondment.

Allocation of Functions between Central and Local

15. In the hope of clarifying our ideas on the subject and ascertaining whether any measure of agreement could be found by representatives of many territories and different interests, we turned to paragraph 243 of the Jeffery report and attempted to 'allocate' the functions listed there. With no forgetfulness of what we have said in paragraph 10, but believing that the results of this exercise may have some interest and a limited usefulness for the conference, we set them down here; adding that we had in mind in the first instance primary education alone:

(i) *Establishment of New Schools.* In general the initiative would come from the Local Authority, though the question of aid must often concern both Authorities. The establishment of new schools by Local Authorities would need the concurrence of the Central Authority, and to be in accordance with an approved development plan. Again the Central Authority may have to arbitrate at times between local interests.

(ii) *Making Recommendations with regard to Types of Schools and the General Nature of their Curriculum.* If this refers to secondary grammar or technical, &c., it concerns both Authorities, but decision must rest with the Central Authority.

(iii) *Advising on Sites.* A local matter, though the Central Authority will in its regulations lay down the acreage required for different schools.

(iv) *Making Grants towards Schools provided by Voluntary Agencies.* The Local Authority will disburse grants within an approved framework and this will be a local responsibility. It is realized that there must be safeguards to prevent preferential treatment of Local Authority schools as against voluntary agency schools.

(v) *The Preparation of Estimates and the Keeping of Adequate Financial Records.* A local function to be discharged within an approved framework and with provision for Government audit.

(vi) *Provision of Returns and Records of Attendance.* The Central Authority will require certain records in prescribed

form; the Local Education Authority will procure and transmit the information wanted.

(vii) *The Planning and Building of Schools*. Definitely a local function, whether at the level where the members of the community put up their own school or at the higher level, where the Local Authority is undertaking the provision of a permanent building. The Central Authority should be in a position to give technical advice where necessary.

(viii) *Equipment and Furnishing of Schools*. Local function.

(ix) *Maintenance of School Buildings*. Local function.

(x) *Appointment and Dismissal of Teachers*. Reference was made to the system evolved in Northern Rhodesia, where all qualified teachers are members of a unified service. Teachers are appointed by school proprietors, but dismissals from the unified service and removal from the register are subject to the decision of teaching service committees at provincial and central levels. Voluntary agencies may set up their own conditions of service, infringement of which might involve the removal of the teacher from his post, without precluding him from teaching elsewhere. The group concludes that registration of teachers and their removal from the register are functions of Central Authority but the posting of teachers is a local concern. Can the teacher have some say as to where he wishes to teach? This seems to be possible in Basutoland, where posts are advertised; but in view of the doubts of the voluntary agencies and the many problems involved, the group must stop short of a firm recommendation.

(xi) *Payment of Teachers' Salaries*. If this refers simply to the handing over of wages to the teacher, it is obviously a local matter.

(xii) *Employment of Non-teaching Staff*. Where this exists, again a local function.

(xiii) *The Granting of Scholarships and Bursaries*. The granting of financial assistance at primary level is a local function. At post-primary levels it may belong to both authorities, but where this function is discharged locally there must be means of ensuring that it is not at the expense of primary education, which is the prior responsibility.

(xiv) *Assistance of Informal Education, Art and Crafts, &c.* (xv) *Assistance of Community Centres, Libraries, and Museums*. These two functions concern both Central and Local Authorities. But we recognize that informal education is vital to the proper operation of the formal school system, and must be very closely co-ordinated with it. It is bound to be rooted in the daily life of the people, and so must clearly be a special concern of the Local Authorities.

16. While we did not discuss in detail the division of functions beyond the primary stage, we would record the opinion that these functions which are discharged locally in respect of primary schools should, as Local Authorities grow in experience, efficiency, and resources, be discharged similarly in respect of post-primary institutions serving only the area for which the Local Authority is responsible. In respect of institutions serving wider areas, they should be discharged by the Central Authority or by intermediate bodies set up for the purpose.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE INSPECTORATE

17. We consider that inspection is so specialized and exacting a function that it can only be carried out by highly

qualified officers who are able to devote their full time to it. Education officers who are required to perform administrative duties should not be expected to do inspection work as well.

18. Inspection, by which we mean an objective assessment of standards attained and not the supervision by which those standards are attained, should become the function of the Central Authority only, but this should not preclude voluntary agencies through their approved managers and supervisors from giving professional advice to teachers. This role is necessary in present circumstances, but it should not be regarded as a permanent feature of the educational system. In this connexion it was noted that the reference in paragraph 36 of the Binns report to the practice in Kenya was misleading and that the recommendations of the Beecher Committee had only been intended to remedy a temporary deficiency. There would be great advantages in arranging an interterritorial inspectorate at the highest levels. We suggest also that consideration should be given to the possibility of an exchange of inspectors between the United Kingdom and the African territories.

19. We are prepared to endorse recommendation No. 4 in the Binns report, provided that 'professional inspection' is substituted for 'professional supervision' and that it is clearly understood that inspectors should have no executive functions but should merely report their findings to whatever body is responsible for the school. We do not, of course, mean to undervalue the extremely helpful work done by inspectors on informal visits, and we by no means propose that it should cease.

20. Our attention was drawn to the danger of supervisors being used uneconomically. Uneconomical overlapping, geographical and denominational, must be avoided as far as possible. But we are convinced of the very great value of the work done in many territories by properly qualified supervisors employed by voluntary agencies, and it must be borne in mind that a teacher in a Church school is usually best helped by a supervisor who shares his particular faith.

SCHOOL OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

21. While it was agreed that ultimately it would be desirable for the title to school buildings and land, either in freehold or leasehold, to be vested in a public body, with local representation when this was appropriate to the grade of school, and that in this respect the English practice referred to in paragraph (22) (a) (vi) below was worthy of further consideration, it was apparent that legal considerations in respect of ownership were so diverse in the different territories that in the time at our disposal we could not profitably discuss them. We were, however, agreed that the right of user was of much more importance than any question of ownership. We therefore turned our attention to school management, but it should be noted that the following paragraphs refer only to primary schools.

22. With regard to paragraph 8 above, the main features of the English system of management are here set out.

(a) *Boards of Managers*

- (i) Boards of Managers are composed of six members, and may be appointed either for single schools or for groups of schools.

- (ii) In county schools the managers are all appointed by the local authority. In Church schools the managers include representatives of both Church and local authority, the latter being in the majority in controlled schools and the former in aided schools.
- (iii) In general the local authority tends to appoint as managers such people as the parents would desire. Religious and community life is therefore reflected in the composition of the boards.
- (iv) Each board of managers includes a correspondent who is responsible for maintaining liaison between the managers and the local education authority. He is frequently the chairman of the board of managers, and in Church schools is usually the local incumbent.
- (v) Each board of managers is a legal entity, and is automatically incorporated under the statute.
- (vi) In general the school fabric is owned by the managers; but in certain cases other bodies are the proprietors, and they lease the buildings to the managers.

(b) Duties of Managers

- (i) Supervision of regular attendance and punctuality of teachers and pupils.
- (ii) Appointment and supervision of non-teaching staff.
- (iii) In certain circumstances, appointment and termination of appointment of teachers. In Church schools the managers may in their own discretion terminate the appointment of teachers who fail to give religious instruction in accordance with the trust deeds of the school. In all other cases, though the management may take the initiative in terminating a teacher's appointment, their action is subject to confirmation by the local education authority.
- (iv) In Church schools, the supervision of religious instruction. (The managers are not otherwise responsible for the professional supervision of teaching in any school, and the head teacher could appeal to the local education authority if managers tried to interfere in this respect; but this should not be understood as implying that the managers are debarred from taking a general interest in the professional work of the school.)
- (v) The maintenance of the school fabric, and the provision of furniture and equipment. Generally, maintenance costs are paid by the local education authority, but in certain circumstances the managers may be required to bear a proportion of the cost of repairs.

(c) Relationship between Managers and Education Officers

It should be noted that while the staff of the Chief Education Officer of the local education authority probably have no legal right to attend management meetings they often do so, usually by invitation.

23. We were warned that there were phases in the development of the English system that should not be repeated in Africa, particularly the sharp division that there had been between State and Church schools, with the danger that the former would be purely secular and the latter financially starved.

24. We are clear that this dichotomy must be avoided at all costs. There are two ways of avoiding a dichotomy: either one half can be cut out entirely or the two can be fused. We strongly urge that as regards the division between Church schools and State schools the latter method should be adopted. This does not imply uniformity of management. The type of schools at present known as local authority schools will certainly increase; at the same time there will always be an important place for un-denominational schools, provided that they lie within an approved framework. But it does imply uniformity of treatment; and the implications of this are considered later, under the heading of Finance (para. 29). The community should be able to take a pride in all schools as its own; it is very important that this attitude should be established as soon and as firmly as possible. We believe that something along the line of the Scottish system, which has welded the schools into a whole with adequate safeguards for denominational interests, is the ideal to be aimed at; and that the English system of Boards of Management may suggest means of achieving that aim.

25. We should like to place on record that it was on the subject of the fullest African participation in management that we were most happily and proudly unanimous. Each school, or group of schools, should have a Board of Managers, with representatives of the Churches, African whenever possible, and of the local government body, in appropriate proportions.

26. In many areas voluntary agencies have already built up efficient centralized systems of supervision and control. They are often democratic bodies, almost wholly African in composition, and we regard it as essential that their long experience of management and training should not be hazarded through any abrupt change of system. Where they exist, the problem will be how to transfer their functions stage by stage to the emerging local education authorities without loss of efficiency. Already in some territories it has been found possible to transfer many of their supervisory functions and personnel.

27. On what seems to us a minor point of nomenclature, we cannot see any sufficient reason for Recommendation 3 of the Binns report to change the term 'Managers' of primary schools to 'Governors'. The words 'Manager' and 'Boards of Management' do not seem to us to suggest any inferior status, they are very strongly established by use; and we do not recommend a change which would be difficult to carry through.

28. For secondary schools and teachers' training colleges we recommend that, singly or in suitable groups, they should be made bodies corporate, with widely representative Boards of Governors. We consider that this should conduce to a better selection of staff and a greater continuity of service; and that its application also to Government institutions is worth considering.

THE PROVISION OF FINANCE

29. Our main recommendation under this heading is that all schools within the approved framework should be treated alike; the cost, both capital and recurrent, of all approved schools managed by voluntary agencies should be met entirely from public funds, central and local. This seems to us implicit in the principle we have laid down in paragraph 24, that the dichotomy of 'State' and 'Church'

schools must be avoided at all costs. Whether this recommendation is adopted or not, it is essential that in respect of grants-in-aid it should be clearly stated what amounts are payable, the objects in respect of which they are payable, and the conditions that must be fulfilled by the recipient.

30. We have considered the view that the Churches should retain a financial stake, however small; but it does not seem to us to have weight. The case for the Church school rests sufficiently upon the acknowledged necessity for a religious basis for education. It would be a mistake to retain any feature in our educational systems that might suggest that 'mission education' is regarded simply as a means of getting education on the cheap. Church members will increasingly be making their financial contribution to the cost of education in rates and taxes. Where the cost of a school building is fully met from public funds, it is sufficient that there should be satisfactory guarantees that it will continue to be used for approved educational purposes.

31. We have considered the formula according to which the central Government in England makes grants to local education authorities, and noted that there is a contribution at all levels, and that there are devices to encourage local initiative and to ensure that greater assistance is given to needier areas. By some means all these points should be safeguarded in Africa.

32. It is unrealistic to suppose that the full cost of approved primary and intermediate day schools can be borne by local education authorities without assistance from central funds; in most parts of Africa at present by far the greatest proportion of expenditure both upon the maintenance of the existing system and upon expansion schemes is in fact met out of central funds. We therefore consider that there should be assistance from central funds at all levels of education delegated to the local education authorities and that at all other levels central funds should bear the full cost. At the levels at which the local education authority functions the central Government subventions we envisage should be paid to the local education authority and disbursed by it, together with its own revenue from fees and local taxation. The full responsibility for administering these funds should as soon as possible be borne locally, so that Africans may see how their taxes are being spent, and may have the fullest opportunity to speed up development by local effort.

33. Local education authorities may prefer increased local taxation to the charging of fees. If fees are charged, they should be uniform for similar schools throughout areas at roughly equal levels of social and economic development. We think that the proposals in the Binns report about fees (Recommendation 71) should be considered; in particular we approve the proposal that the cost to a child of a school course should be averaged out into equal annual instalments and that fees should be paid to local education authorities when the full cost of the school is met from public funds.

34. The Jeffery report, in paragraph 318, draws attention to the difficulties that will arise with the cessation, in 1956, of Colonial Development and Welfare grants for capital expenditure. It is generally unsound that the capital costs of a rapidly expanding system should be borne entirely out of recurrent revenue. We understand that the

general English practice is that building schemes of over £5,000 must be financed by loans, and that the loan charges, covering interest and redemption over thirty years, usually amount to something like 6 per cent. We consider that where possible some such procedure should be followed in Africa so as to spread capital costs over the estimated life of buildings and that loan facilities should be made available to local education authorities.

35. The fact must be faced that the financing of the expanding systems in all territories poses most formidable problems. It would be irresponsible to approach them with undue optimism. But it would be no less mistaken to be unduly pessimistic. A new factor is appearing in Africa of the very greatest importance; everywhere, in different degrees and forms, there is a growing sense of nationhood. The real essence of a nation, it may be claimed, is not some geographical or racial factor, but the firm will of its people to achieve great things together. That has very deep implications for all territories, not least for those containing plural societies, where the word 'together' has a very special significance.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

GROUP A: RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL

As the paper of Group A appeared in two instalments, which together make a connected whole, so the discussion also is continuous. This summary covers the whole of the discussion, both of the first paper and of the second.

By far the greatest number of speakers stressed various aspects of the partnership between State and the Churches, which they all agreed in regarding as vital. These are some of the points made:

We agree that there must be impartial Local Authorities to ensure economical and wise control of the schools. But it would be wrong to assume that voluntary agencies always regard each other as rivals. They very often work in close collaboration. It would be just as wrong to imagine that they are controlled by European missionaries. They have set up compact bodies of control, many of which are almost wholly composed of African members. There is a great deal of excellent African leadership available in these bodies; I hope we shall not ignore it and set up completely new ones.

I agree. There will have to be all sorts of adaptations to local conditions; it would be a mistake to try and enforce uniformity. We must remember, too, that the child must not be made the exclusive property of this or that Church, or political party, or administration, or local government authority. I agree with the group that the Scottish system has much to commend it.

Unfortunately, forms of local government are often established with no special concern for educational work. All we can do is to press for adequate representation of voluntary agencies on education committees.

Provided there is effective control by the people, it is not at all important to have an identical framework of machinery everywhere.

There are three essential partnerships: partnership between Europeans and Africans, between Church and

State, and between the central Government and local authorities. These partnerships can take different forms. I see in paragraph 15 of the Group's report a list of functions which are allotted to the central or to the local government. That is a static approach, which I hope the group will not emphasize; our approach must be more dynamic. There will be local variations, and there must be progress in all these three partnerships.

Three African speakers emphasized that although they meant the effective control of education to be in the hands of the properly constituted representatives of the African people, they had no desire to exclude the voluntary agencies, including the Christian Churches, from effective partnership. They were grateful for what the missionaries and other voluntary workers had done for African education, and needed them as partners in the work of development.

I hope we shall not fall into the habit of regarding local authorities as exclusively African. In my territory we are already talking about having interracial town councils and we may even progress to interracial county councils.

We have been talking a good deal about popular control of education through local authorities. We must not forget that popular control of education can also be exercised through a central board of education.

I entirely agree with paragraph 2 (c) of the group's paper, which presupposes an education with a religious basis. I am sure no African in my area would wish African schools to give a purely secular kind of education. But one great difficulty is the great number of different Christian denominations which are at work. They have all sorts of conflicting rules of conduct over such matters as drinking and smoking. A local authority would be impartial in such matters.

We all agree that this new partnership is essential. But it is going to mean a shift of formal responsibility, and we should deceive ourselves if we thought it will be an easy process.

It will need statesmanship and generosity on both sides. Particularly perhaps on the African side. Some people in Africa who have grown old in the service of education are dispirited now because they fear that so much of what they have been trying to do is being set aside.

In the section of our report on the provision of finance, we in Group A have envisaged a system of what can be called People's Schools, which everybody can take pride in. We must get away from the distinction we so often make between 'their school' and 'our school'. That is why we think that all approved schools should treat each other and be treated equally. As far as authorities are concerned, we feel strongly that there should be only one authority, but that a real place should be provided on that body for representatives of religious bodies as such. We agree with what has been said about the challenge of the plural society. The different races in a plural society have got to work together, and that is a big problem in itself, as we have hinted in the last paragraph of our paper.

Voluntary agency schools can be just as much 'people's schools' as schools which are run by a local authority. The agency I represent does not think in terms of a mission, but in terms of the diocesan education council. This

is a democratic body consisting of three missionaries and over forty African members.

Two other speakers supported this.

There are two schools of thought, each with its own dangers. Some people have such keen professional consciences that they demand the highest possible standards, or even impossible standards. They may well bring about a political crisis. Others are prepared to compromise in order to ease the transition to the new order. If they compromise too much, they may well bring about the collapse of educational standards altogether. It is a question of finding the happy medium.

What financial contribution should the Churches make?

The Binns report (paragraph 362) recommends that the Churches should continue to pay part of the cost of running schools. Why does the group disagree?

A spokesman of the group: If we really do believe that the educational system is all one, there is no justification for treating any one part of it differently from any other part. Besides, the Churches have other things to spend their money on.

Missionary contributions from overseas are drying up, and also, African Church members are paying educational rates and taxes. We do not think it fair to expect them to pay an extra educational rate to the Church.

And the Churches' chief contribution to education is a spiritual one; why should they pay in money as well?

I do not agree with the group on this point. Speaking for the society to which I belong, I agree with the Binns report that for the present the missions should keep some financial stake in the education of the children who attend their schools. I have two reasons. One is that we cannot yet be sure that if we accept 100 per cent. assistance from the State we shall be able to provide the parents with the type of school which they wish to have. The parents have a responsibility for their children's education; and their rights and opinions must not be obscured by the State. If we accept 100 per cent. assistance from the State, they may be. My second reason is that African Christians are paying dues to the Church for their children's education, and we think that the parents desire their children to have denominational schools. If they are prepared to pay for denominational schools, we are quite ready to put their funds into our schools.

I should like to make two points. The first is that if the whole cost of running schools is taken over by the State, then the Churches will no longer have effective ownership of the school buildings. The second point is that if the State is going to take over the whole cost, it would be more expedient to take it over gradually.

We have inherited from our educational history in England a rather unfortunate idea, which is always giving trouble. It is the idea that a Church or a religious body can, so to speak, buy the opportunity to make its distinctive contribution to education by making an appropriate financial payment. But this should not be so. The only right to take part in educational effort is the ability to make a good contribution, and a sense of duty under which to make it.

Does the group think that if a Church school receives 100 per cent. grant, both capital and recurrent, from public funds, the Church should still have two-thirds of the members of the governing body?

Spokesman of the group: Yes. The complexion of the governing body should depend upon the *ethos* of the school, not upon finance.

I agree with the group on this. Besides their financial and spiritual contributions, the Churches are making the contribution of the voluntary service to education that is given by their European and African workers, and I think that for this reason they should have two-thirds of the members of the governing body.

I think that the Churches' main contribution is a religious one. We Africans value that; and when we govern ourselves, we shall still need the services of the voluntary agencies. We shall certainly not deprive the voluntary agencies of the opportunity of using school buildings, and we agree that they should be properly represented on the governing bodies of schools. But I hope we shall not fall to arguing over who owns the buildings, and I should be sorry if the Churches were to base their claims to a share in the control

of education on the financial contribution they have made or are making.

I am very much in favour of Church schools, but I think that the Church schools would find it an advantage to go on paying a share of the cost of their schools. It ensures that only the more solidly based Churches will continue to run schools, since the minor sects will be unable to afford to. And it makes the school authorities themselves more realistic. If they know that the Government will pay for everything, they are apt to become a bit irresponsible.

Other Points

One speaker warned the conference that although local funds must take more and more of the burden as time goes on, the main burden must lie for many years on central funds. It would be disastrous if in hard times the central Government thought it could save money merely by telling the local authorities that they must take over more of the cost of education. Four speakers raised points which were subsequently dealt with by modifying the text of the group papers into the form in which they now appear. Four speakers dealt with purely local points. Thirty-nine speakers in all took part in the discussion. This record summarizes thirty-one speeches.

3. GROUP B: THE EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Of all the five main topics treated by the conference this is the most politically exciting. The man in the street in Africa is not interested when educators discuss the problem of teacher-training or adult education or the school curriculum. But he is passionately interested in how to provide more and better primary and secondary schools, so that his children may have better educational opportunities. And he is ready to take an active interest also in other technical points, such as the question of a four-year or a six-year basic primary course, which seem to him to have implications for this fundamental problem of educational expansion.

Group B treats the subject of expansion under five heads. It devotes nearly half its report to the general principles on which expansion should be planned. The popular demand must be met. Great efforts must be made to make up the leeway in girls' education. The standards of secondary education and of teacher-training must not be allowed to slip through concentration on expanding the primary school system. Primary school wastage must be stopped; and one of the most valuable parts of the group's report is its list of suggestions on how to stop wastage. A sufficient number of men and women of the right type must be attracted to the teaching profession, and must be given the right sort of training and guidance. School buildings must not be unnecessarily expensive. Primary education must be largely financed out of local education rates. In this section of its report, Group B's thinking runs on similar lines to that of Groups A and C;¹ in fact, one of the striking things about the Cambridge conference was the way in which different groups, working separately on different aspects of African education, reached similar conclusions on the many points of contact between one side of the problem and another.

Then the group discusses how the efficiency of the existing schools may be improved. There are many schools at present unassisted from public funds, and all of these which are doing, or which might possibly be enabled to do, useful work in education should be given assistance and should be brought up to the required standard of efficiency.

There follows a section on the special problems of urban areas. The group wishes an eight-year primary course of education to be made compulsory in urban areas as soon as possible. It accompanies this proposal with a series of proposals for improved welfare services. These proposals are of course not directly concerned with the problem of expanding the educational system; but they will greatly increase the efficiency of school education, and will do much to bring about a healthy community life.

From the town the group passes to discuss the needs of the country-side, and speaks of the perennial problem of what the school can do to maintain a sound rural economy. On this subject, Group B finds itself in close agreement with Group D.² It points out that the school alone can do comparatively little; such difficulties as faulty systems of land tenure, shortage of capital, uncertainties of weather and of world prices, and the absence of amenities in village life are far more serious deterrents to an agricultural career than a misdirected type of education, and educational improvements will avail little to counteract them. The group does, however, suggest ways in which rural schools can adapt themselves, more than many of them have yet done, to the needs of their rural environment. They can replan their curriculum and co-operate more closely with the department of agriculture; though to do this they will need suitably trained teachers.³

This raises the question of the supply of trained teachers.

¹ See paragraphs 29 to 35 in Group A's report, pages 148-9, paragraphs 7 to 12 in Group C's report, pages 160-1, and see also paragraph 43 in Group D's report, pages 173-4.

² See paragraphs 29 and 30 in Group D's report, page 171.

³ See paragraph 30 in Group D's report, page 171.

An expansion in this supply is one of the first essentials in a period of educational expansion, and on this matter the group makes a number of recommendations which are generally in line with those made by Group C.¹ Group B points out that, in a period of expansion, the 'qualifications of many of the teachers must be slimmer' than in a stable period. There is, of course, material for another conference in the questions how a territory is to set about providing a skeleton staff of trained teachers for the attainment of universal primary education, and how trained and untrained—or rather, more trained and less trained—teachers can most effectively be used together.

All these plans for expansion raise the question of money; and Africa is poor. In paragraph 343 of the Jeffery report and paragraph 358 of the Binns report, the point is made that there is a case for increasing the proportion of Government expenditure which is devoted to education. In its final paragraph Group B's report notes this point,² but does not press it. It is perhaps remarkable that the conference as a whole, both in discussing this report and in other discussions, did not come to grips with the question of finance along these lines. Of the thirty-four members of the conference who discussed Group B's paper, only one (whose speech is summarized on page 158) dealt with the question of finance. His main point was that, in present circumstances, the expansion of education is an emergency problem, and must be treated on an emergency basis. Education should not be regarded as merely one among a number of services which compete for a share of the revenue which remains after provision has been made for the essentials like justice, communications, administration, and the national debt. In his view, as in the view of the Binns report,³ education is a service which is necessary to all the other services, 'and if it is deprived of the means to do its work well, all the departments will suffer'. For this reason, it should not receive merely the 10 or 12 per cent. of the revenue which it now receives, but a greatly increased allocation.

However, in spite of the lead given to it by the Binns and Jeffery reports, and by paragraph 30 in Group B's paper, the conference did not take up this line of thought. It was content to urge that people should be encouraged to pay more for their education through local rates. Apart from this, it seems to have felt that educators in Africa would have enough to do for a long time to come in stopping wastage, getting more girls into school, improving the supply of trained teachers, and the other practical measures set out in the first half of Group B's paper. To raise the efficiency of the existing system in this way would be to lay the foundation for a new programme of expansion.

GROUP B: THE EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

We are in general agreement on the following points:

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF EXPANSION

1. It is the duty of Government to match public demand for education by ensuring in the first place, for all who desire it, a basic primary course, the aims of which should

be substantially those given in paragraph 91 of the Jeffery report.

2. For some years such public demand will be heavily weighted in favour of boys; in view of this we think that girls should be encouraged in every way, more especially by financial concessions of various kinds, to attend school and complete their course in approximately the same numbers as boys. In fact, as there is so much leeway to make up in girls' education, the immediate object must be to attract many more girls than boys, so that this approximate equality in numbers may be reached.

3. If a strong and insistent public demand is not met by provision from public funds, 'private enterprise' by the people themselves will attempt to meet the demand, probably with unsatisfactory results. There is already evidence that failure to meet this demand will result in such action.

4. In matching this strong public demand for increased primary education the greatest care must be taken not to weaken existing teacher-training and secondary schools, whether by diversion of funds or by the removal of highly qualified staff, to supervise and administer a fast expanding primary system, as may easily happen. It is considered that the teacher-training and secondary schools are not yet as efficient as they should be and certainly cannot stand a weakening in any direction. In fact, the improvement of secondary schools and of teacher-training should go on alongside the expansion of primary education.

5. Where no clamant demand for primary education at present exists Government would be well advised to concentrate on improving the quality of higher education in order to put itself in the position to meet the demand which will arise almost inevitably sooner or later, possibly with great suddenness.

6. The rate of expansion of the primary system must be conditioned by the length of the primary course. Although unanimity regarding the length of the primary course is not possible of achievement it is agreed that length alone is not the main consideration, for the simple reason that an efficient shorter course is of more value than an inefficient longer course.

7. As it seems probable that most children will not for some years proceed beyond the primary stage, it is desirable that such children should not complete their primary education before the age of twelve. This of course involves the difficult problem of selection for post-primary education. Further, whatever may be the length of the primary course, it is essential that the maximum possible number of children must complete it. In this connexion, we wish to observe that gross figures of enrolment have almost always been highly misleading; the significant figure is the number of children completing any course of instruction considered to be complete in itself, whether primary or post-primary. The metaphor of the educational pyramid has tacitly assumed grievous wastage at all stages, and this assumption has, in turn, led to the assumption that wastage on a large scale is unavoidable. We deal with the subject of wastage more fully below (paragraphs 16 to 18).

8. Classes should correspond with ages as far as possible; that is, in any one class the range in pupils' ages should be as small as possible. In a rapidly expanding system of primary education, this will be achieved almost automatically if due attention is paid to the question of class promotion. On the other hand, there is a special

¹ See paragraphs 9 and 28 in Group C's report, pages 160-1, 163-4.

² See pages 56, 131, 156.

³ Paragraph 358, page 131.

problem here in undeveloped areas. Nigerian regulations allow for a pupil finishing Standard VI to be anywhere between eleven and fifteen years of age. This wide range of ages may be turned to advantage in undeveloped areas. Most of the pupils would be children of illiterate parents and would tend to be at the upper age-limit, this would make them suitable candidates, at any rate in age, for training as teachers. Pupils at the lower limit would tend to be few in number, and would be children of a small group of teachers and others who had had educational advantages. Such pupils are at a suitable age for entering secondary schools.

9. In order to finance a rapidly expanding system of education it is necessary to raise additional funds. Experience suggests that, in areas where an insistent demand for increased educational facilities exists, people are usually more ready to pay a rate for the specific purpose of education than to pay a general rate for unspecified purposes. Advantage should be taken of this fact. While the central Government must assume final responsibility for ensuring the provision of all educational services, we think that the primary system, with its essentially local character, is more intimately the concern of the local government, whereas the post-primary system is more properly the concern of the central Government. Nevertheless, we do not think a hard-and-fast line can be drawn between the respective financial responsibilities of the central and of the local Government, since local government resources vary to so great an extent that the amount of aid given by the central Government must depend on this factor.

10. We think that fees charged in school should be uniform throughout the length of any course which is complete in itself. The frequent practice of charging higher fees in higher classes is apt to encourage wastage; though the introduction of a uniform rate would entail increasing the fees in the lower classes to offset any consequent loss. An additional deterrent to wastage might result from the institution of a comparatively high rate of fees with a rebate on the completion of the course. Such a system might be particularly effective in keeping girls in school until the completion of their course.

11. From all points of view and especially in view of the prevailing high costs of building, over-elaboration of school buildings should be avoided; although, of course, every building must be adequate for its purpose, full advantage being taken of local building methods and materials.

12. We strongly endorse the prevailing trend towards the establishment of a unified teaching service, understanding by this term complete parity of conditions of service, financial and otherwise, between all teachers of equivalent qualifications.¹ These conditions of service must not be less favourable than those offered to civil servants of equivalent education, due regard being paid to the length of professional training involved. Any failure to compensate adequately over the whole of a teacher's service for the period of professional training will result in a lowering in the standard of entrants to the teaching profession. A recent Gold Coast report goes even farther and recommends more favourable terms. In Sierra Leone more favourable terms for certain grades of teacher have been instituted. It must be borne in mind that, even though

conditions of service for teachers are as favourable as for the Civil Service, they need not be identical. In such matters as hours of duty, and leave regulations, a teacher cannot be placed on exactly the same basis as an office worker.

13. In view of the difficulties experienced by voluntary agencies in recruiting expatriate staff, especially for teacher-training, arrangements should be made, through the grants-in-aid system, to attract recruits by offering satisfactory terms of service, including a pension or superannuation scheme. Home committees of some missionary societies tend to hesitate in recruiting educational staff, even when they are grant-attracting, on account of the heavy initial expenditure for outfit, passage, and the first few months of duty prior to the receiving of the first instalment of salary-grant. (There is also the difficulty that passage grants no longer cover the full cost of fares and travelling expenses.)²

14. In certain areas the attempt has been made to accelerate the expansion of primary education by the introduction of the double-session system. While recognizing that this device may meet the pressing needs of certain localities, we should like to make it clear that this will not permit of a standard of primary education of the type mentioned in paragraph 1 above. In practice it will admit of little more than the acquisition of the three R's.

15. It should be admitted that in a rapidly expanding educational system the qualifications of many of the teachers must be slimmer than one would expect in a relatively stable system. In this connexion, the common division of teachers into trained and untrained is misleading; for in most territories there are several degrees of qualifications. The main consideration is that the teacher should be adequately equipped to do the job allotted to him. Novel methods of training and supervision of teachers are required not only to meet the demands of expansion but to consolidate the existing system. In this matter we think the suggestions of the Gold Coast Accelerated Plan worthy of attention.

THE PROBLEM OF WASTAGE

16. The term 'wastage' should be used to cover: (a) the loss of pupils who leave before completing a school course; (b) undue retardation, that is repeating classes or taking longer to complete a course than the number of years prescribed for it, as the result, for example, of irregular attendance, inefficient teaching, or lower mental capacity than that of the class age-group. Bare figures of the enrolment in each class are misleading, and make the position look more serious than it really is. It must be borne in mind that an increase in the numbers of children attending school shows itself mainly in increased enrolment in the lower classes. Again, many schools do not provide the full course, and if many children do not complete the full course because there is no place for them in the higher classes, that is not wastage in the sense in which we have defined it.

17. The causes of wastage may be traced not only to low standards of education and the lack of administrative measures directed towards reducing wastage, but also to social and economic conditions such as lack of co-operation from parents, the economic demand for the services

¹ See also paragraph 28 in Group C's report, page 163-4.

² See also paragraph 9 in Group C's report, page 160-1.

of the children outside the school, migrant labour, shifting agriculture, and late entry to school.

18. We think the remedies for wastage are :

- (a) Lively teaching and attractive schools.
- (b) An adequate supply of books and equipment for every child; and control of the cost where these are the responsibility of the pupil.
- (c) Propaganda and research. (Recommendations 14 (a) to (d) of the Binns report.)
- (d) Encouraging the habit of regular attendance over the number of years normally required to complete a course; through such means as parent-teacher associations and school committees.
- (e) Enforcing, by means of Native Authority orders and school attendance officers, the regular attendance of pupils voluntarily enrolled with the consent of their parents for a complete course.
- (f) Limitation of all classes to reasonable numbers. (It has been proved by an experiment in Northern Rhodesia that classes of 35 pupils produced higher numbers completing the course than did classes of 50 over a four-year course.)
- (g) Admission of new pupils at the beginning of the school year only.
- (h) Admission of children of the right age-group. (Recommendations 14 (e) and (g) of the Binns report.)
- (i) Arranging school holidays to coincide with the main agricultural seasons—planting, weeding, bird-scaring, and reaping.
- (j) Insisting on a well-trained and experienced teacher taking the lowest class.
- (k) Moderate fees, uniform throughout the course (where tuition is not free) (Recommendation 14 (f) of the Binns report).
- (l) Automatic promotion. Where the quality of teaching, the supply of equipment, and regularity of inspection are assured, promotion should be automatic throughout the course provided that attendance has been regular. (Paragraph 142 and Recommendations 14 (h) and (j) of the Binns report.)
- (m) Restriction in the length of time allowed to complete the full course.
- (n) Institution of an educational rate; especially a rate which permits the abolition of school fees.

EXPANDING THE SYSTEM OF GRANT-AIDED SCHOOLS

19. In general terms, we think that any school which is judged by the competent authority to be educationally necessary and socially desirable, and for which there is a reasonable prospect of permanency and efficiency, ought to receive aid from public funds. By accident or design, there exist many types of school and teacher at present outside the grant-aided system:

(A) Schools controlled by an approved voluntary agency (or by a local authority), which are designed as part of an integrated network of primary education, but which do not attract grant

- (i) because they have not yet developed into full junior primary or full senior primary schools; or

- (ii) because they do not yet satisfy all requirements regarding staff, buildings, and general efficiency; or
- (iii) because funds are meanwhile not available to enable them to be grant-aided.

We think that such schools have a specially strong claim to financial support, supplied, say, by the payment of grant in respect of one trained or experienced teacher posted to the school in order to improve its quality. (Cf. Nigerian Ordinance: Financial Regulation 21.)

(B) Teachers who, though teaching in an assisted school of an approved voluntary agency, attract no grant solely because funds are inadequate to pay all the grants due under regulations of the Education Ordinance

(C) Schools conducted by individuals or bodies who are not approved voluntary agencies, and who therefore receive no grants. A school which is carried on by an approved voluntary agency or local authority offers the best prospect of permanency; whereas the school owned by an individual proprietor (whether run for profit or not) is much less stable, and much less likely to become eligible for grant-in-aid. (For conditions which may be demanded of a voluntary agency applying for approval and therefore for grants-in-aid see Nigerian Ordinance, Financial Regulation 4.)

(D) Schools or classes which have come into being as the result of genuine community effort and which are maintained entirely by the local community or congregation; whose existence is known to local education authorities; but which do not find a place in any planned system of primary education. (We think that, in order to prevent abuses, and to facilitate controlled development of the whole area, all schools which are potential units of the grant-aided system should be registered from the start and should receive permission to function as schools, even though receiving as yet no grant-in-aid.)

(E) Private schools conducted for profit. We think that no stigma should be attached to a person or body conducting a school for reasonable profit, provided that the school is efficient, properly staffed and suitably accommodated: but that no grant-in-aid should be made to such a school from public funds.

(F) Classes for religious instruction; catechetical centres; and Koranic schools. In so far as these are purely religious in function, and do not seriously teach any secular subjects, they are not schools within the meaning of the Act, and should not be the concern of the Education Department.

20. We have studied the proposal made in paragraph 254 of the Binns report for the transfer to adult education of funds and personnel at present devoted to the running of unassisted schools; but we think the suggested transfer impracticable. It is by no means certain that Churches which are willing to support embryo village schools would divert their resources to any kind of campaign for adult education.

THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AREAS

21. We are in general agreement with the various sections of Recommendation No. 75 of the Binns report. We think that town and city councils, urban district councils, and similar bodies (whether interracial or otherwise), should be constituted as local education authorities,

responsible for ensuring the provision of at least primary education throughout their areas, and of levying education rates for its upkeep.

22. Since it is far more important in urban communities than in rural areas to have all the children in school, we think that, as soon as possible, compulsory education extending over eight years should be provided for urban children, with special courses for those who are already over ten years of age when they enter school. The strain on parents' resources during so long a course will be considerable; but compulsory attendance should be accompanied by plans for remission of fees in cases of need.

23. In order that a genuinely religious basis may be assured, both for formal education and for youth work, we hope that the Churches will devote more attention to urban communities and their peculiar problems. It is not to be supposed that the Churches will, or should, divert their funds from other activities to the support of formal education in the towns; urban communities being normally wealthier than rural areas, ought to be trained to erect and support their own schools, even though these will be larger and costlier than village schools. We assume that local authorities would be eligible to receive Government grants for schools in the same way as approved voluntary agencies.

24. Youth work in urban areas needs to be greatly intensified, preferably under the general management of a Council of Social Services for each area. Every industrial or commercial firm employing more than a certain number of African employees should consider itself obliged to provide a welfare service approved by such a Council; and all firms, whether large or small, should be encouraged to take a lively interest in the welfare of the young people they employ and also of the children of adult employees. It follows that firms disposed to co-operate in providing a welfare service should be given some kind of representation on local education authorities. Great care will be needed to prevent the development of a specially favoured class in the community, wherever an employer is able or willing to provide generous facilities for his own employees *alone*.

25. In every planning scheme for an urban area, timely provision should be made for adequate school sites with suitable playing-fields; and also for recreation space needed for welfare schemes.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE LAND¹

26. While the drift of population away from the land into urban areas must cause serious misgivings, certain factors seem likely to operate against the process:

- (a) The existing inflated prices obtainable for the primary products of agriculture render farming and local trading moderately profitable.
- (b) As primary education becomes more and more nearly universal it will confer less and less distinction on its possessor; and as the qualifications demanded for clerical work become steadily higher, more primary pupils may be expected to remain on the land, of necessity if not from choice; a consideration which constitutes an argument for the early attainment of universal primary education.

- (c) When villages develop a stronger sense of community, through united action for desirable ends, and when greater specialization takes place among their members, rural life should become more varied and satisfying.

27. It is not the function of the ordinary school to supply a narrowly vocational training, even with a view to inducing the pupils to remain in a rural environment. It is the school's duty, however, to relate the whole of the curriculum to the life of the people whom it serves, whether that life is rural or urban in its main emphasis. Such a local bias in the curriculum is directly in accord with sound teaching method, since it proceeds from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Even a definite rural bias need not in any way hamper a pupil who later proceeds to higher education of a more academic type: but should rather help him to think in concrete terms, and to appreciate the link between cause and effect (experience in the school garden, for instance, serving to illumine nature study and botany). The supreme importance of agriculture, in view of the rapidly growing population, is undeniable; but the school cannot hope directly to cause much increase in the national productivity, in the face of such obstacles as the prevailing systems of land tenure, the shortage of capital, uncertainties of weather and of world prices, the low return obtainable from subsistence farming, and the absence of amenities in village life. The school can achieve its best results by using in all its teaching the rural idiom, in order to shape the outlook and attitude of its pupils in favour of rural life. Such teaching will inevitably render them more receptive to new ideas which may be offered to them by the agricultural department.

28. The primary school of the present type *cannot unaided* turn the ambitions of its pupils in the direction of farming; there must be: (a) Reorientation of the interest, and improvement in the training, of the teacher. (b) Re-planning of the curriculum around practical activities inherent in the rural way of life. (c) Co-operation between Government departments at the village level as well as the centre.

We have some comments to make under each of these heads.

(a) *Specialist Teachers.* The agricultural study and practice which can be worked into the training course provided for the prospective teacher are insufficient to enable him to give his school the rural character required. The best results can be obtained by giving to a number of selected teachers a subsequent course fitting them to become specialist teachers of Rural Science; and on the successful completion of the course they should be accorded an appropriate rise in status and remuneration. Both in college and at special courses, grants should be made available to meet the capital and recurrent costs of training teachers in practical subjects; and during all in-service training their salaries should be paid. The same principles should apply to the provision of specialist teachers in Physical Training, Handcrafts, and Homecraft, whether required for one large school or a group of schools; and whether in an urban or a rural environment.

(b) *Practical activities in the curriculum:* to achieve their purpose in the school curriculum, practical activities such as agriculture and handcrafts must:

¹ See also paragraphs 28 to 30 of Group D's report, pages 170-1.

- (i) provide something which is new, and interesting;
- (ii) be educationally valuable; and
- (iii) be closely interwoven with other school subjects.

(c) *Co-operation*, especially with the agricultural department, ought to be the normal practice. Non-specialist teachers in the villages particularly need the visits and advice of agricultural assistants; while specialist teachers depend greatly on inspection and encouragement from the agricultural officers or the rural education officers who have trained them. Demonstrations, exhibitions, and local shows can have very considerable influence if co-operatively planned; but all schemes should allow for local variations and initiative; and not too much should be expected of the school by itself.

29. In most areas the continuance of peasant farming must be accepted as probable, industrialization coming slowly, if at all. Meanwhile the population may double itself within one generation. Most of Africa must grow its own food or starve. The medieval environment existing outside of the school must be changed and modernized. Truly revolutionary thinking is required, touching every level of society. Some degree of mechanization, and even the concentration of peasant farmers in large villages or towns, may be essential, if amenities are to become available to them, and if the extreme pressure of population on the land in certain areas is to be relieved. Pilot schemes for the development of small-holdings run on co-operative lines (see Binns report, paragraph 229) would be costly; but if successful, might have immediate and astonishing results. Whatever may be accomplished in the schools, there is need for the planned deployment of all the resources of the Churches, of community development, of agricultural training and of health propaganda in order to revolutionize rural life.

THE COST OF EXPANSION

30. African feeling in favour of the wider and more rapid spread of education, even at a cost which would, a few years ago, have seemed prohibitive, is so powerful in some territories, and may very soon become so powerful in the others, that it would be foolish to underestimate it, and wrong to attempt to thwart it. Education is not simply one of several social benefits competing for the allocation of funds to facilitate its development. As the Binns report states: 'A department of education is in a sense a service department for all the other departments, for it is engaged in the business of producing trained personnel for all these departments' (para. 358). Any considerable increase in national productivity demands intelligence and expert knowledge. 'Among the social services, therefore, expenditure on education ought to have the highest priority' (para. 357). No long-range incompatibility really exists between educational and economic development. The goodwill of the people is essential to effect any kind of major development; if that goodwill expresses itself first in favour of education, advantage should be taken of the popular enthusiasm, especially by directing it into ways of self-help, and the imposition of local rates; in the anticipation that, at later stages, the same means of increasing revenue will prove valuable for the development of other social services also, as the demand for them becomes insistent (cf. Jeffery report, para. 343).

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

GROUP B: THE EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In the somewhat rambling discussion on Group B's paper, seven speeches were particularly important, since they suggested elaborations of points raised in the paper, and the chairman of the group accepted their suggestions and declared the group ready to amend its paper on these lines. The group, however, had not time to make the fresh draft, and we accordingly print here a somewhat fuller summary than usual of these seven speeches.

In paragraph 26 of its report the group expresses unreserved concern at the drift of people from the land. But this drift is not necessarily a bad thing. There are far too many farms which are too small to be efficient, and if productivity is to be increased, there must be a large-scale consolidation of small farms into larger. It would not be enough if the spread of education impelled more educated people to remain on the land and try to scratch a living out of an uneconomically small plot. We need an agrarian revolution. Farms should be of such a size that they give their occupier a standard of living equivalent to what he could reach in other occupations. I think the group should be ready to qualify the concern it expresses over the drift from the land, which I agree is often a bad thing but in some circumstances is a very good thing.

In paragraph 19 (A) (iii) the group suggests that unassisted schools may receive some assistance in the provision of trained or experienced teachers. The suggestion is reasonable, but it amounts to a dilution of trained teachers with untrained. I think it would be more appropriately placed in paragraph 15 as one of the 'Novel methods of training and supervision' which are there referred to. Could the group not insert a list of some of these methods? Several have been referred to during this conference. We have heard of honorary certificates, short courses, in-service training, and now this suggestion of one trained teacher posted to each unassisted school. I like the suggestion in paragraph 28 (a) about specialist teachers. Such people could be given a basic course and then a specialist course in some selected subject.

I should like to emphasize this matter of trained and untrained teachers, or rather, as the group points out in its paragraph 15, of the teachers with more and the teachers with less training. We should be sympathetic to the teachers who have received less training, and help them to become more useful. If the various devices we have heard mentioned are incorporated into a broad and imaginative scheme of in-service training, we may tap unrealized potentialities and render a great service to education.

The group has been criticized for having written as if it wanted pupils to remain on the land. We have been taken too literally. We do not suggest that all the pupils should become farm labourers. We want the African countryside to develop in much the same way as the English countryside. There you have a community which depends on the land: not only the farmers and those directly employed in agriculture, but also all those who live by supplying goods and services to farmers—professional and commercial men and so on. We want a healthy rural community life to balance the industrial community life.

We need also to consider the special problems of women. Women on the land may not have the labour-saving devices they have in towns, but they have compensating advantages. They have no housing problem like that in the towns; they get a lot of their food and other things free, all of which have to be paid for in town. It is a much better home environment for the children. When we are talking about giving schools a rural bias, I hope we shall remember the need to encourage a domestic economy that is based on rural conditions.

The group has not dealt with one point in the expansion of education which I think is important. It is mentioned in paragraph 86 of the Binns report. It is the problem of what to do when one area is clamouring for more schools than can be given it, while another area is apathetic over education. The tendency so far has been to try and force schools on the backward area, and to tell the progressive area that it must wait until the others have had their fair share. I agree with the proposals which the Binns report makes for dealing with this problem; but there may be other solutions. Anyway, the problem has to be solved.

One speaker has mentioned the special problem of providing African education in a region settled by European farmers. The problem has been successfully tackled in one territory on these lines. The European wants to have a school for the children of his workers, because he realizes that the existence of a school is an attraction. So he asks the education department to establish a school, and the school is used not only for the children, but as a community centre for adults. The farmer provides the buildings and guarantees to maintain them for an agreed period, not less than five years. Then the Government or a voluntary agency provides staff and equipment, and the school becomes an ordinary Government or assisted school. If ever the farmer is no longer willing to renew his agreement to provide and maintain the building, the teachers and equipment are taken away.

Chairman of the group: We accept all these suggestions, and if time allows we will try and revise our paper by incorporating something to meet all these points.

Twenty-seven other speakers took part in the discussion. Several confined themselves to agreeing with the group's views on particular points: paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 7, 12, 24, and 26 of the paper were supported. A few disagreed with the group. Two speakers thought the group was wrong in regarding children of fifteen as old enough to enter a teacher-training college (para. 8). Seventeen should be the minimum age. One speaker disagreed with the group's proposal in paragraph 10, to charge uniform fees. And another disagreed with paragraph 20, in which the group rejects one of the recommendations of the Binns report; he defended the Binns recommendation.

A number of speakers amplified points raised in the group's report:

When we are planning expansion, we should determine how many pupils we shall require to train for the professions, and we must make provision for educating this number of pupils (plus, of course, provision for wastage) to the requisite stage.

When a territory has reached the stage where there is a strong popular demand for education, the popular enthusiasm is a very powerful factor in maintaining the morale of the teacher and in helping the people to benefit by the education which is provided; and so we must be careful not to underrate it or discourage it. Our problem is how to spread education rapidly without lowering standards too much. Everything depends on the training of the teachers, not only their pre-service but their in-service training. And in a period when more reliance has to be placed on imperfectly trained teachers, great efforts must be made to supply them with books and teaching aids of all kinds. One great danger in a time of rapid expansion is that good people, both teachers and supervisors, are constantly being taken away from their work to start new schools, whereas it is vital that a man who is doing good work should be left alone to continue it. The plea is often made that it would be unfair to leave a good man in one place, because he will lose his chance of promotion. If so, arrangements must be made to promote him where he is, without taking him elsewhere. Continuity is essential.

On the question of the causes of wastage, which is discussed in paragraph 16 of the group's report, I think undue retardation is much more important than the loss of pupils who leave before completing the course. There is much to be learned on this matter from Dr. Eiselen's report on *The Education of the Bantu in South Africa*. Automatic promotion, as suggested in paragraph 18 (l) of the group's report, would be the most effective cure.

I agree with what the group says in paragraphs 22 to 25; but I want to emphasize the importance of proper planning for urban areas. In my territory we have found towns growing at such a rate that all our estimates of the school accommodation needed are thrown completely out; we provided for 10,000 children and thought that would be quite enough, but then we discovered that we had 23,000, and might expect in five years time to have 40,000. A really thorough survey is a difficult business, but it has got to be done.

There are special problems in providing African education in European settled areas. I agree with paragraph 14 on the subject of the double-session system, but I think the group could well have made its condemnation still stronger. It may be not too bad in theory for children to have half the day in school, but in practice the small children have to go to and from school with their elder brothers and sisters, and so they spend the other half of the day hanging about. On the question of the agricultural bias in education, we need a land-reform scheme as well. In some parts of Africa people cannot get an adequate living off the land, because holdings have been so fragmented or because there is land hunger for some other reason. This is not a matter which the schools can do alone.

Several speakers emphasized that the growing popular enthusiasm for education must be welcomed and given every support; where it has not yet become evident, it must be anticipated, and plans must be made to meet its demands. Others said that the only effective way of meeting the need was to concentrate on providing a supply of trained teachers. One member of the conference added that the efforts even of the best teachers were seriously hampered by a shortage of

class textbooks, and if more books could be provided, the spread of education would be greatly helped. Another, linking the speeches of two previous speakers, said that just as rural schools needed land reform, so urban schools needed the help of welfare schemes and of housing: schools could not be effective with children who were homeless.

Only one speaker raised the question of finance:

All these educational projects are going to cost more money. I would like this conference to say what proportion of a territory's revenue should be devoted to education. In my territory 10 per cent. of the revenue goes to education,

which I do not think enough. Our greatest fear is the fear of ignorance, and ignorance can only be cured by education of the right type. So many of Africa's problems, including the problem of racial disharmony, come from ignorance. In the war against ignorance, we should regard ourselves as being in a state of emergency, and we should not be content with diverting funds from one aspect of education to another, but we should insist on diverting funds from other services to the development of education. I am not an educationist, but that is how I see the position as a member of the public.

4. GROUP C: THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The subject of Group C's study covered both the question of the supply and training of teachers, and also the question of the status of the teacher and the development of a professional spirit. Both in the group's discussion and in the full conference discussion, much more time was spent on the supply and training of teachers. This was not because members of the conference considered this the more important question of the two. On the contrary: the conference regarded it as axiomatic that education is what the teachers make it, and a competent, devoted, and professionally spirited body of teachers is the essential foundation of a good educational system.

But the group speedily came to the conclusion that although much can be done to encourage the development of this spirit among teachers by proper arrangements as regards salaries and conditions, membership of the right kind of professional association, and similar administrative machinery, what will ultimately determine the status of the teaching profession is the respect in which the individual teacher is held. And this depends on what sort of a teacher, and what sort of a person, he or she is. The question of how to recruit the right sort of person for teaching, what sort of training to give him, and how to make the best use of him when trained, is thus of the greatest importance, and—in African conditions—of the greatest difficulty.

THE STATUS OF THE PROFESSION

The question of what could be done to enable good teachers, when they have been provided, to take their proper place in the community was discussed under three headings.

Uniform Conditions of Service

The conference agreed that the anomalies which now exist between the salaries and conditions of service found among different types of schools in the same territory should be removed. All qualified teachers, whether teaching in Government, local government, voluntary agency, or other assisted schools should be on the same salary scale and should be subject to the same conditions of service in such matters as leave, housing, pension, and dismissal.¹

Teachers in Public Life

The teacher's first duty is to his pupils. But teachers in

Africa form such a large proportion of the small body of educated citizens that their help is needed in public affairs. The conference was prepared to accept the group's view that this public responsibility was so great that even the pupils' interests might properly be, to a limited extent, set aside to enable the teacher to carry out his responsibility as a citizen. What this means in practice is that a teacher should be encouraged to play his part in local government affairs as member of a local authority, being given a reasonable amount of leave from his classes to attend meetings and other local public duties. If a teacher wishes to enter central politics, he should be encouraged to do so, but it will not usually be possible for him to carry on his professional career while a member of a central legislature. In this case, he should be given leave without pay while engaged in public life, and if he wishes to re-enter active teaching, he should be able to do so without losing his acquired rights. He must, of course, keep party politics out of the class-room.

The Teachers' Association

The conference was very impressed with the value of a good teachers' association in raising the cultural and professional standard of its members. Aristotle thought that the State is brought into existence to make life possible, but it continues in existence to make life worth living. Similarly, the conference thought that a teachers' association is brought into existence to secure better salaries and material conditions for its members; but it continues in existence to help its members to improve their cultural life. A good association will run libraries, refresher courses, and summer schools, will set up professional committees to gather and give expression to its members' opinions on professional questions, and will seek all ways of assisting its members to become better teachers. Only in such ways can its members' claim to better material conditions be justified to the outside world.

The conference thought that such an association is invaluable, and all teachers should be encouraged to join one. There are advantages in having one large association covering all the qualified teachers in the territory. Teachers will often wish to join some specialist association, but membership of a specialist association should be in addition to their membership of the wider body, not an alternative to it.

¹ See also paragraph 12 in Group B's report, page 153.

THE SUPPLY AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

When the conference came to discuss what needed to be done to provide Africa with a sufficient supply of good teachers, it found little difficulty in agreeing on several points. None of them was new. Governments have heard them before, have admitted that they are desirable, but have so far been unable to make much effective progress towards carrying them out. What was new in this conference was the feeling that these matters are not merely desirable but essential; and that if Governments mean business they must break down whatever obstacles have hitherto prevented them from action.

The main points of policy which received general support were these:

1. Teacher-training is a job for specialists. It will not be effective if left to any member of the education department or the voluntary agency staff who happens to be available. Every effort must be made to recruit such specialists, people who are in touch with modern ideas and practice in teacher-training. And when they have been found, they must somehow be retained in this special work. They must not be transferred to fill gaps in other branches of the service, nor must they be led to apply for transfer by the feeling—which many of them now have—that teacher-training is the Cinderella of the education service, and the road to better salary, more consideration, and professional advancement lies elsewhere. This applies just as much to voluntary agency as to Government staff.
2. Teacher-training is more than a matter of giving pre-service training in college, and more than running occasional refresher courses for teachers already in the profession. Pre-service and in-service training must be conceived of as one continuous process; and as a process which is carried on not only by the training college staff but by inspectors and supervisors, and by head teachers and other senior teachers. It follows that there must be the closest possible contact between the specialist staff engaged in the college training and these other members of the profession who share with them the responsibility for training teachers.
3. No training college can do its work properly if it has fewer than 100 or 120 students, with a staffing ratio of 1 to 12. Many arguments are brought forward to support the very small college of 20 to 40 students. The conference gave full weight to these arguments, notably that the small college gives close personal contact between staff and students, and that there are advantages in having students trained in their own tribal and linguistic area, where the college can more easily make an impact on the surrounding locality. But it considered that they are decisively outweighed by the advantages of the larger college: notably the advantages of a richer community life, of more specialized staff, of better library and equipment, and of breaking down tribal particularism. Provided the staffing ratio is maintained, there can be just as intimate a relationship between staff and students in a college of moderate size as in a very small college; though the conference recognized that
- there is a size—perhaps 300 or so—beyond which individual personality is in danger of being lost in the crowd.
4. If a college of from 100 to 200 students becomes the normal, every territory should provide itself with one college not necessarily larger in student body, but staffed and equipped on a more generous scale so as to be able to do more experiment and inquiry and to lend specialist staff and equipment to the smaller colleges. Such a college would be an invaluable source of assistance to the smaller colleges in their work.
5. Institutes of education should be established: not necessarily one in each territory, but every territory within effective range of an institute. These institutes should be organized and governed as recommended in the Binns report (Recommendation 69) and should exercise the functions there recommended. This is the most effective way of reaching the long-desired end of placing professional control (as distinct from administrative control) of education in the hands of the teachers themselves.
6. Continuity of staffing, both among Government and among voluntary agency staff engaged in training and supervising teachers, is vital to the success of these plans. The teachers must feel that they know and trust these people, and are known and trusted by them; and this feeling is destroyed if staff are constantly being transferred to other duties or other areas.

The text of the group's report, which now follows, and of the summary of the conference discussion, will show that there were other points which were raised, and left unchallenged. The above nine points, however, are those in Group C's report on which there seemed to be most general agreement. As one speaker said, if they are made the basis of policy in this matter all over Africa, they will have a profound effect towards raising the standard of education.

GROUP C

THE TEACHING PROFESSION

1. The topic for our discussion is so large, and our available time has been so limited, that we have not attempted to do more than select certain heads for discussion. We began by assuming that the teacher is required to be more than an agent for supplying children with information; he should be an influence for good upon his children and upon the community, in which he will often be called upon to be a leader. Our subject thus falls into two parts: (1) what sort of man or woman must the teacher be in order to fulfil this task, and (2) how are teachers of this type to be produced in sufficient quantity?

THE PLACE OF THE TEACHER IN SOCIETY

2. The most important factor determining the esteem in which a teacher is held is his personality; if he is recognized as being competent and devoted, that is the essential. But there are other factors. He may be working among a strange people, who are unwilling to accept advice from a stranger. He may be in a large town, living far from his school and the homes of his pupils, and lost in the crowd.

Other sections of the community, such as clerks in Government service, may be better paid and have the extra prestige which Government servants are apt to have. But we think that personality is the most important factor.

3. A good teacher will always find opportunities of placing his gifts of leadership at the service of the community. He can become a leader in school activities of different kinds and in educational circles outside his own school. He may be prominent in church work; or he may devote himself to work among youth organizations. And in addition to these, there are two other spheres of activity which call for further discussion: teachers' professional associations, and public affairs.

4. The strength of the individual teacher can be greatly increased if he is a member of a strong teachers' association. Teachers' associations commonly come into being to secure better material conditions for their members; but a good association, while continuing this struggle, widens its activities to improve its members' cultural and professional standing. It may, for example, run its own library, professional journal, summer schools, or refresher courses, and consultative committees for collecting and expressing the opinion of its members on professional topics. And it may be represented on the governing body of institutes of education and other educational organizations. All these activities will give opportunities for leadership, and a good association will evoke leadership of many kinds, sometimes in unexpected places. We need hardly add that

women as well as men must play their full part in all the activities of a teachers' association and must supply their full share of leadership.

Women's leadership is a familiar feature in traditional African society, and must be equally familiar in these societies and activities of Western type.

5. We have been very impressed with the importance of a good teachers' association in developing professional spirit and in extending professional knowledge among teachers.

We think it most important that Governments, Churches, local authorities, and all other employers of teachers should give their teachers every encouragement to join professional associations and take part in their work.

Some teachers are members of specialized organizations, such as a union of teachers who specialize in the teaching of one subject, or who are members of one religious faith. Membership of such bodies may be very useful; but it should not prevent teachers from being active members of the wider association as well. It is important in our view that all teachers should belong to an association which covers the whole territory.

6. We gave special consideration to the question whether teachers should enter politics, and thus place their gifts at the service of a wider community. We think that local and national politics need the contribution which educated men and women like teachers can make. We appreciate that in times past, when 'politics' often meant merely opposition to the Government, it would have been embarrassing to the Government to have civil servants openly opposing the policy they were officially supposed to carry out. But we feel that nowadays any disadvantages of having a teacher known to be a partisan will be outweighed by the advantage of having his services available in public life.

For this reason, we think that all teachers should be encouraged to take part in public affairs.

Teachers, however, will always bear in mind that if they have a duty to the community, they have a prior duty to their pupils. Each teacher will decide for himself how these duties can be reconciled. It seems to us probable that a teacher, if given a reasonable allowance of leave from his duties in school, should be able to engage in local government work, and if satisfactory arrangements can be made for his classes, there will be much advantage in his doing so. But he will not be able to go on with his school work while he is a member of the central legislature. If he feels that his place is in the legislature, we think that he should be given leave without pay to enable him to enter it; and when he desires to return to active teaching, there should be proper provision to enable him to do so without loss of acquired rights.

THE SUPPLY OF TRAINED TEACHERS

7. We discussed at length some of the problems involved in training teachers, in diluting well-trained teachers with less trained, in recruiting entrants of the right standard and retaining them in the profession, in combining pre-service training in college with in-service training. Some of these problems we found to be largely matters of detail, on which the differences in conditions between one part of Africa and another make any worth-while generalization impossible. We confine ourselves in this report to matters of principle.

8. One great difficulty is that training colleges cannot obtain enough candidates of the right quality. Sometimes children who might in time have become suitable entrants leave school too young. Sometimes there are no candidates from a given language group. Sometimes candidates are below the required standard of general education. In addition, there are difficulties of another kind, such as the unequal treatment of teachers in training in comparison with other professions, unsatisfactory salaries and pensions, and unsatisfactory conditions of service. We agree with those who think that the material disadvantages which deter young people from entering the teaching profession should be removed. We think that improvements in the training and supervision of teachers and in the general educational system will in time overcome the obstacles we have mentioned of youth, language, and insufficient general education.

9. We discussed the strategic importance of teacher-training in a period of expansion.

We agreed that before we can expand an educational service, we must first expand and consolidate the provision of those stages of education from which entrants to the training colleges are drawn; and where existing training college facilities are inadequate, the expansion of those facilities should be the next priority. If this expansion involves the necessity of recruiting more expatriate staff for secondary schools or training colleges until sufficient trained African staff are available, they should be recruited.¹

Some of us felt that there might sometimes be circumstances justifying the recruitment of expatriate staff in primary schools as well; but we make no recommendation

¹ See also paragraph 13 in Group B's report, page 153.

on this point, which is one to be settled locally according to local needs. When we propose that the first expansion should come in the stages of education which provide entrants to the training colleges, we have in mind the common case in which a training college wishes to take in students with ten years' general education, but there are very few students available with more than six years. In this case, we think the first steps must be to increase the number of pupils who spend the extra four years in school, even if this means providing extra schools to accommodate them. As far as the teacher-training programme is concerned, this initial programme of expansion may be limited to what is necessary to provide the required number of entrants to the new training colleges. But it is no use building a new training college unless there are students ready to enter it.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN THE SUPPLY OF WOMEN TEACHERS

10. We are aware of the urgent need to increase the number of women teachers. We discussed the initial problem of persuading public opinion in Africa that girls of school age should be released from the heavy burden of domestic drudgery and allowed to enter the schools. We must face the fact that until this drudgery is diminished by labour-saving devices such as power-driven mills or pipe-borne water, parents will have to make real sacrifices, both in money and in labour, in dispensing with a daughter's services. The great expansion of girls' education that will be needed if territories are to overtake the arrears will involve Governments in financial problems, since girls' education will demand a larger share of the available funds than it now receives.

11. We think that suitable provision should be made to ensure that as far as possible no deserving girl pupil is deprived of education through poverty. Everything possible should be done to make it easy for girls to reach school, such as financial help towards travelling expenses where necessary, and adequate arrangements for travelling under escort to and from boarding school. Attention should be given to the problem of providing an integrated and suitable curriculum which will retain the interest of girls in the school until they are ready to enter the training college.

12. We appreciate the importance of securing the services of married women as teachers. Their teaching often has a quality of sympathy and understanding which amply makes up for the disadvantages in the claims which their home duties must sometimes successfully make in competition with those in the school. We should like every effort made to retain them in the profession. Not only should their terms of service be made as attractive as possible, but authorities should do what they can to make it easy for a mother to teach in school. We heard, for example, of one territory where married women continue their course of training, and of another where mothers can have their babies placed under proper care on the school premises while they are teaching in the class-room.

ENTRY TO THE TRAINING COLLEGE

13. As education improves, the age of primary school leavers falls, and many pupils who might have made good teachers leave school too young for college and are lost to

the profession. We feel that to admit these young people as soon as they have obtained the requisite academic qualification would be a mistake. On the other hand, we dislike very much the idea that young people who would have been promising entrants to college should be lost simply because they are able to complete the available school course at an early age. Even in the United Kingdom, where students are not admitted for training under the age of eighteen, some leave school at fifteen and have to fill in three years as best they can. In Africa, where there is much less opportunity of obtaining secondary education or part-time education in evening classes, the problem is more acute. We look forward to the time when this educational gap will be filled. Meanwhile, some useful prospective teachers might be retained if they were employed as pupil teachers, under good and sympathetic supervision, until old enough to enter college.

We do not wish to see the age of entry to the training college lowered. We think that no prospective teacher should be admitted until he is sufficiently mature. Territories should determine their age of entry according to local conditions.

THE STAFFING OF TRAINING COLLEGES

14. We were depressed with the reports we heard of the difficulty of staffing training colleges. We were told that there are teachers on the staff of training colleges who have no special desire or vocation for teacher-training; that there are frequent transfers; that teacher-training is unpopular, either because it is thought too hard work or because it is thought to hold out no prospects of promotion; that few of the staff are adequately experienced or qualified for this particular type of work; that grammar school experience in England is not necessarily helpful in training teachers for African primary schools; and that Governments insist on graduates (whereas half the teachers in British training colleges are non-graduates) and often seem content with a graduate without inquiring if he is specially suitable for teacher-training work. We feel strongly that these difficulties must somehow be overcome; and we are in general agreement with paragraphs 224 and 225 in the Jeffery report.

We think it important that training college staff, whether African or European, should be specially selected as qualified by experience, academic qualifications, and sense of vocation; and that they should be of such a high moral character as will fit them to exercise a sound influence upon their students. They should be suitably remunerated in salary, prospects and conditions of service, so that their services may be retained. Academic qualifications for this purpose need not necessarily include a university degree.

It is our belief that the high moral character we have mentioned will be the manifestation of a convinced religious faith; but we recognize that all will not agree with us in this, and we do not wish to see candidates for the staff of a training college necessarily subjected to any doctrinal test.

THE SIZE OF THE TRAINING COLLEGE

15. When we came to examine what the training college should do, we found we had to begin by discussing what size it should be. This question is discussed in

paragraph 329 of the Binns report, and the arguments there set forth were echoed by members of the group from their own experience. Of the arguments in favour of the small college, the one which most impressed us was that individual tuition and personal contacts are easier to arrange. These are things which African education can ill afford to lose; and we feel strongly that if colleges increase in size, everything possible—such as the establishment of a tutorial system—should be done to retain them.

16. On balance, however, we think that the advantages of the larger college far outweigh the disadvantages. In particular, we regard it as important that a college should be large enough to have some specialists on its staff, and to have amenities such as an adequate library, more generous equipment, and a fuller community life. In our view, as long as an adequate staffing ratio is maintained, individual tuition and close personal contacts are still possible. The Binns (para. 329) and the Jeffery (para. 226) reports are generally agreed that a training college should contain not less than 100 or 120 students; and we accept this minimum figure. We should be prepared to see colleges larger than this figure, which is a minimum, not a maximum. We think that a college needs a teaching staff of ten or twelve, with sufficient administrative support to provide the various disciplines needed and the broad general culture which is essential to teacher-training. If it also carries on in-service training of teachers, as we think it should, it will need extra staff for this purpose. A teaching staff of 12, with a staffing ratio of 1 in 12 will give the college 144 students.

In our view, a training college should have a teaching staff of ten or twelve at least, with a staffing ratio of 1 in 12; this is without counting staff engaged on in-service training of teachers.

17. Training colleges are sometimes kept small because of the difficulty of finding enough schools for teaching practice. We were interested to hear of two ways in which large colleges had overcome this difficulty. In one case, a central college maintained a system of satellite colleges, staffed by its own staff. After preliminary training at a satellite college and a period of service in the schools, students were called in to the central college for further training. In another case, the college maintained college hostels in areas where there were plenty of schools for teaching practice; the warden of the hostel acted as supervisor of the practice. In both cases the head teachers of the schools that were used for practice were trained to co-operate effectively with the training college staff.

THE WORK OF THE TRAINING COLLEGE

18. We approached the matter of the work of the training colleges by discussing whether a training college should or should not give any general education in addition to professional training. There is perhaps some ambiguity in the term 'professional training', and we are not sure that the distinction between general education and professional training is a real one. Even if a college imparts no fresh knowledge of history or geography, it will guide its students to look on their existing knowledge of the subjects in a new light or from a new angle; and to do this is to give general education. In so far as the two can be separated, we agree that ideally it is the school's job to give

general education and the training college's job to give professional training. But the schools are so often unequal to their task that the training colleges will often be forced to take the students whom the schools can supply and set themselves forthwith to remedy their deficiencies.

19. We think one of the biggest difficulties facing the training college is the dead weight of tradition. Head teachers and senior colleagues often fail to understand or sympathize with a young teacher's ideas. Trained teachers often teach by the bad methods they were taught at school, not by the good methods they were taught at college. Even the tutors of the training college sometimes lecture and dictate notes instead of teaching in ways they wish their students to imitate. In our view, training college students would often benefit by being taught more than they are now by methods appropriate to the classes they themselves will later teach; though there are obvious limits to this. It should never be necessary for the training college tutor to plead that he dictates notes because he can get through his programme in no other way. We wish to lay great stress on the value of the demonstration lesson (i.e. a lesson given by a college tutor to a school class in the presence of his students) and of the criticism lesson (i.e. a lesson given in similar circumstances by one of the students).

20. We should like each training college to have attached to it a demonstration school under its own control. The quality of the demonstration school should be carefully maintained.

The purpose of the demonstration school should be to show what can be done with equipment and methods which are generally available. It should not be so lavishly equipped that students regard what is done in it as quite inapplicable to what can be done elsewhere.

21. But much more than this will be needed to throw off the dead weight of traditional methods of teaching. We feel strongly that pre-service and in-service training must go closely together. It is not enough for a training college to send its students out into the schools and to leave them to their head teachers and the inspectors. The college staff must visit head teachers, and invite head teachers to visit the college; the two parties must learn how they can best co-operate, and must plan their co-operation. Newly trained teachers on leaving the college must discover that the head teachers under whom they are to work understand and sympathize with the new ideas they bring with them from college. There must be a constant coming and going between the college and the schools; college staff visiting the schools, teachers visiting the college and at intervals returning to college for further courses of training. Teachers coming to college for in-service training should receive full pay and superannuation benefits while attending college, and should receive their travelling expenses.

We think that in-service training of teachers is essential, and that training colleges should be staffed to enable them to take their share in it and to keep in close touch with the work of the schools. For this purpose their staffing ratio will need to be increased above the ratio of 1 in 12 of the students attending college for pre-service training.

There must be similarly close co-operation between the training college staff and the inspectors. Every teacher needs to be encouraged and helped to grow steadily in

professional ability:¹ ability not only to carry out his immediate teaching duties but also to discuss and help to decide broader educational issues. This implies that his experiences in pre-service and in-service training must form a continuous process, designed to develop his professional self-confidence and powers of initiative. This will not be so without deliberate co-operation to this end, not only on the part of training college staff and head teachers, but also of supervisors and inspectors. They should co-operate among other ways in providing books, agreed schemes of work, and other aids to the teacher. It is very important that training college staff and supervisors or inspectors should remain in the same posts long enough to know and trust each other and for the teacher to know and trust them both.

22. Even with the closest co-operation between the training college and the schools, much of the effectiveness of the training college's work will be lost if the trained teachers are all scattered far and wide in small numbers. Good teachers are much more effective when grouped. For this reason,

We hope it will be possible to concentrate some good trained teachers under experienced and sympathetic head teachers, so as to provide each area with one or more extra good schools. These schools should be carefully guided and supervised.

We think that such model or 'pilot' schools would have a great effect in their own areas by spreading the ideas of the training college and showing them in regular working. In our view it would be a profound mistake to level schools downward by rationing trained teachers equally among them.

23. By analogy, we feel that training colleges whose staff and equipment are limited would be helped in a similar way by the example of a college, not necessarily very large in student numbers, but better equipped and generously staffed. Such a college could lend specialist staff or equipment to other colleges in turn, and could conduct experiments and research in a way that would be beyond their resources. It would also be able to help them in their in-service training. We think it essential that a considerable proportion of the experiments and research carried out in the training colleges and in the institutes of education which we desire in paragraph 24, should be devoted to needs and problems recognized by the teachers and others connected with the educational work of the schools.

The best immediate means of raising the general standard of teaching would be for every territory to have one training college which is staffed and equipped on an extra generous scale so as to have facilities for research and to be a guide and help to other colleges.

24. In this connexion, after reading what is said in paragraph 336 of the Binns report on the institutes of education in England and Wales, and after discussing with Professor Fletcher the ways in which this organization could be adapted to African needs, we are profoundly impressed with its potential value to Africa. We need not recapitulate a description of the institutes or the reasons that have convinced us. But

we are strongly of the opinion that there should be set up

institutes of education as recommended in Recommendation 69 of the Binns report. We particularly support Recommendation 69 (c) on the organization and government of the institutes.

We think that each territory should have a college of its own of the type we describe in paragraph 23. Whether an institute of education should serve one territory or more is a matter to be decided locally. It must also be decided locally whether to provide first the 'special' training college of paragraph 23 and afterwards the institute of education, or vice versa. We think that the 'special' training college will produce quicker visible results. But setting up the institute will necessarily mean that training colleges which already exist must come into closer association with each other; and it may be found easier in some territories to persuade the colleges to come together into an institute than to accept the establishment in their midst of a new and upstart 'special' college. This question of tactics is, we repeat, a matter for local decision.

25. We discussed briefly how the content and methods of teacher-training could be improved. We think that they cannot be radically improved without the help of specially qualified teachers, and such teachers will need no advice from this conference. We are in general agreement with the spirit of Recommendation 67 of the Binns report.

ON TERMINOLOGY

26. Though it may seem of small importance, we should like to make two observations on points of terminology. We found ourselves hampered by differences of terminology between territories: elementary, primary, intermediate, middle, and so on: forms, classes, standards differently numbered and grades of teachers differently named. It would assist such discussions as ours if Governments could agree among themselves to standardize their terminology as far as they can.

27. The other point is that it might help slightly to raise teacher-training in public esteem if the establishments in which teachers are trained were called *colleges*, not *centres*. Some of us would prefer to call them *teachers' colleges*, so as to avoid the vocational connotation of the term *training college*. On the other hand, we dislike the United Kingdom practice of calling the members of staff *lecturers*, especially since we think there is too much lecturing being done and we want more teaching. We prefer to call them *tutors*.

A UNIFIED TEACHING SERVICE

28. We have already discussed the teacher's place in society, and the processes by which he is trained. We are conscious that there are widespread feelings of insecurity and unfairness among many teachers because of the wide variations in their conditions of service. We think the establishment of a unified teaching service the only effective way of removing these feelings, which must be great hindrances in the development of a true professional spirit. Some territories are already considering the institution of a unified teaching service, and we think that it should be instituted in every territory. The essential feature of a unified service is uniformity of terms. Teachers in Government and grant-aided schools should be on the same salary scales, and their conditions of service, in such

¹ See paragraph 15 of Group B's report, page 153, and also page 123.

matters for example as leave, pensions, housing, sick pay, and dismissal, should be the same. The conditions of service of teachers in grant-aided schools should be secured by a contract, with agreed clauses on religious matters. We are sure that such uniformity would help to encourage recruitment and long service.¹

29. We have given special consideration to the problem of equal pay for all teachers of comparable qualifications engaged in comparable duties. We accept the principle of equal salary and conditions, with expatriate or other special allowances where applicable; but we must leave it to different territories to apply this principle as conditions permit.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

GROUP C: THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Thirty speakers took part in the discussion on Group C's final paper. This summary contains, apart from brief references, the record of twenty-five speeches.

The Length of the Training Course

Has the group considered how long the training course should be? I think three years the minimum.

Others: This is not a matter for a general ruling. It will depend on various factors: chiefly on how much you can afford, and how much previous education the students have had.

The three-year course has the great advantage of giving the college a richer community life

True; but there is a general danger to guard against. We may lengthen the school and college course so much that our students are too academic in their outlook, and too little in touch with the needs of the average child.

You could do something to meet this by dividing the training course into two sections, and giving the students a year or two of service in the schools in the middle. This has been tried with some success in Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

It certainly has great advantages. But there is one thing you have to be careful about. Many teachers get the idea that when they have finished the first part of the course they are qualified to teach in lower classes, but when they have finished the second part, they are qualified to teach in higher classes, and it is beneath their dignity to teach any more in the lower part of the school.

Which, of course, is quite against our view that the lower classes need teachers quite as good as those in the upper classes, if not better.

I think this system is sound; but it does not always work with women teachers. Women often have a very short professional career, and they are apt to drop out of the profession during the period of teaching between the first and second parts of the course. We sometimes find it better to give women their whole course at once, so as to make them fully useful at once.

The second part of the course is much more valuable if married teachers can bring their wives; then we can give the wives some appropriate training.

¹ See also paragraph 12 in Group B's report, page 153.

The Organization and Function of the Training College

Several members: We agree with the group that pre-service and in-service training must be regarded as a continuous process.

The group speaks of experiments and research which are to be carried out by the training colleges, or perhaps by the institutes of education. It is very important that these experiments should be based on problems which are suggested by the experience of teachers in their work. Training colleges and institutes must keep in touch with teachers and make it their business to know what the teachers regard as important problems.

A spokesman of the group: Certainly. Research workers must keep their feet on the ground; that is one reason why there must be constant coming and going between school and college. If teacher-training is shared in by inspectors, supervisors, and head teachers as well as by the training college staff, every member of the team will know his colleagues' needs and respond to them

Yes, but are teachers going to be keen on in-service training? I doubt it, unless they feel it is going to give them some material advantage. In my country they are keen on it, because they can use their in-service training to qualify for a higher grade certificate. I don't think they would be so keen otherwise.

Several members: It is very important that training colleges should be in close touch with what is going on in the schools. Many of them at present are not.

It would help them if inspectors, who know the schools well, came back to serve on the training college staff.

In my experience, training colleges do not make enough use of their demonstration schools. The students go over to the demonstration school, give their one or two supervised lessons a week, and then go back to college. If they spent more time in the demonstration school studying the children, it would do them more good than the child-psychology lectures they get in college. (b) Another thing: colleges should do more than they do to keep in touch with their old students. I know teachers who have got lost in the bush, and have never heard of any of the other teachers who were in the same year at college. Could the colleges not hold reunions of former students of the same year-group? (c) Improvisation is a useful art which colleges generally do nothing to foster. Teachers often do without the simplest apparatus, which they could easily make for themselves from wood which is plentiful all round them; it never enters their heads to try and improvise their own equipment, simply because the college has never suggested it to them

I have found that students in training colleges are ignorant of their country's general problems. Departmental officers should visit the training college and talk to the students; and students should visit the places where real work is being done.

The group has made an important point in saying that college students could learn a lot from teachers already serving in the schools where they do their practice teaching. But they will learn much more if one of the best teachers in the practising school is made into a teacher-tutor, and made definitely responsible for supervising the students

As we have already said, colleges should do much more than they do at present to develop their students' initiative and sense of responsibility. This is more important than increasing their general knowledge and professional technique, which is all that most colleges think about.

Central Training College and Institute of Education

Several speakers supported these ideas.

We may find some people rather suspicious of the idea of an institute of education. They think the training colleges are already out of touch with the schools, and they may fear that the institute will be just as much out of touch with the training colleges. I don't think it will be. The institute is very largely a federation of the training colleges themselves, so it is bound to be in touch with them. It has a double duty. Through its constituent colleges it carries almost the whole responsibility for pre-service training, and it has also to take a good deal of the responsibility for sustaining the teacher in the work of his profession, whether he originally came through one of the colleges in its area or not. The institute should look after all the teachers in its area, no matter what college they come from.

Continuity

Several speakers It is not much use talking about co-operation between training colleges and inspectors and others if everybody concerned is liable to be transferred to other duties or other districts every few months. These constant transfers wreck the whole work. In teacher-training, everything depends on the tutor's and the inspector's knowing the teachers and being known and trusted by them. With these constant transfers, they cannot possibly know each other. Can nothing be done to keep people on the job longer?

This does not apply to Governments only. Voluntary agencies also sometimes make transfers too often, and people who are good at teacher-training are taken off into other kinds of work altogether.

Governments are too much attached to the idea of an education service, whose members can be moved about to

suit administrative convenience. They should realize that many fine teachers cannot give of their best in such conditions. Many people give their loyalty to an individual or an institution, not a service.

Entry to the Training College

The group says that it does not wish to see the age of entry to the training college lowered. But the age at which pupils enter the primary school is going down, and so is the school-leaving age. I am afraid we shall lose many potential good teachers because children leave school too young for college and get attracted into some other profession.

The problem is to hold them for the years before they can enter college. I agree that we must not lower the age of entry to the training college. I have found it possible to retain these young people by using them as pupil-teachers, under careful supervision, and if this is properly done it can be a great help to them in their college course.

Is there not another danger? If the training college recruits its students from the middle of the secondary school course, it may be removing the cream of the pupils, including some who might rise high if they completed their secondary course.

That is a danger; but I see no way of avoiding it. We cannot yet avoid it in England.

Other Points

If we are to recruit for training college work people who are specially qualified for it, as the group suggests, I hope we shall be able to recruit some from countries outside the Commonwealth. The United States especially has great experience in this field.

In this matter of in-service training, I think the universities should have a special contribution to make. They could, for example, run refresher courses, say three months long, for specialist teachers, giving them the chance of meeting the university staff and getting up to date on their own special subject.

5. GROUP D: ORGANIZATION AND CURRICULUM

The chairman of Group D apologized to the conference for the length of his group's report. He pleaded that the group, 'having been landed with an assignment which would have kept a professional body happy for at least six months, was talking, if anything, faster at the last session than at the first'.

The group produced a preliminary paper which was a skeleton version of the first eighteen paragraphs of the final paper which we reprint. In this preliminary paper the group tackled two questions: one of them the important but not very controversial question of the objectives of education; the other, the question of school organization, a technical matter which has become a matter of acute political controversy.

On the first question the group found little difficulty in reaching agreement, and the list of objectives which it

sets out in paragraph 5 of its final paper commended itself to the conference. The first of these objectives, the development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour, led the group to consider the question of morals and character-training, and to emphasize that, like Group A, it presupposes 'an education with a religious basis and a spiritual doctrine of human nature and destiny'.¹

In this connexion the group gives special consideration to Muslim education and presents a special paper on this subject as an appendix to its report. This paper was welcomed by the conference; and one speaker in the discussion pointed out that much could be done for Muslim education by giving professional assistance to the many

¹ See also paragraph 2 of Group A's report, page 144; paragraph 14 of Group C's report, page 161, paragraph 23 of Group B's report, page 155, and paragraph 15 in Group E's report, page 179.

small Koranic schools which exist in the African territories.

Having laid this essential foundation, the group then sets about the controversial question, whether the twelve-year school course should be organized into three sections of four years each or into two sections of six years. Some African territories follow one system, some the other. Kenya, which used to follow the 6-6 system, now proposes to reorganize its education into 4-4-4, the immediate aim being to provide all children with a four-year course, and the next step being to extend this so as to provide them with an eight-year course. This reorganization has aroused great opposition among African opinion. The curtailment of the primary course from six years to four was regarded as certain, the subsequent extension from four years to eight as most uncertain; and the whole proposal was regarded as a retrograde step. The Binns report favours the 4-4-4 system; the Jeffery report is not faced with the same choice, but considers five years to be the minimum length of the primary school course.

Both in Group D and among the members of the conference who discussed its report, there were advocates of both systems, and no agreement was reached. The group indeed maintains that no agreement is possible, since 'there is no single answer which would be universally applicable'. It does, however, affirm that each territory, in seeking the answer suited to its own conditions, must avoid the false assumption that the choice lies between a four-year and a six-year primary course. The true choice lies between a six-year and an eight-year primary course; and if the four-year course is all that can be immediately provided, the object must be to extend it as quickly as possible so as to provide eight years of education for all children. This view seemed to find general support in the conference.

The group's report says very little on the different types of secondary schools. Bearing in mind the English classification of secondary schools into grammar, technical, and modern, the group spent a good deal of time discussing the problem, but decided to make no recommendation because of the dangers involved in too hasty an adoption of the English system. Three speakers in the conference discussion warned the conference of these dangers, but otherwise there was very little discussion on the topic.

But the question of selecting pupils for secondary schools was regarded, both by the group and by the conference, as a matter of great importance for Africa. For many years to come, secondary education in Africa will of necessity be selective, and it is important that those shall be selected who are best able to profit by secondary education. The group's report emphasizes that the machinery of selection must be effective. Three speakers in the discussion laid their emphasis rather on the way in which this machinery is to be worked. In African conditions at present, many children who deserve secondary education have the misfortune to be attending a bad primary school, and some means must be found of enabling them to receive a secondary education. Selection machinery must not only be good, it must be recognized as good, and this recognition will not come without much patient explanation and publicity. One speaker, himself an African, declared that the effectiveness of even the best selection machinery will depend on the character of the members of the selection

boards. Not all the present members of the boards, he said, are fit for their responsibility; there are instances of corruption and nepotism, which must cease.

In discussing the schools in relation to agriculture, the group agrees generally with Group B. Agriculture, however, is but one illustration of the general principle that the curriculum 'should reflect the dominant requirements of the country as they exist from time to time, and from place to place'. If the curriculum is to fulfil this demand, more specialist teachers will be needed, and teacher-training systems will need to be modified to supply them.

The same conclusion follows from the group's longing for 'a fresh and more realistic approach to the methods of teaching'. The whole conference echoes the plea made by the two study groups for fresh and realistic methods. But new methods cannot be adopted in the schools until teachers have been trained to use them, and the schools will receive no considerable number of teachers who can use new methods until the training of teachers has been revolutionized, as proposed by Group C. One speaker, however, pointed out that, desirable as new methods may be, there is no need to do nothing while awaiting new-method teachers: old methods can still produce good results if properly used, and until new-method teachers appear in the schools, we can still occupy ourselves usefully in helping teachers to use the old familiar methods with more sympathy and skill.

Since, as the group points out, no great improvements are possible without better teacher-training, it was inevitable that the group's discussion of the curriculum should appear to be more superficial than in fact it was. Africa needs the spirit which gives life to the best modern teaching in Europe and America. But while needing the spirit, Africa must not blindly copy the letter. And we do not yet know how the new methods are to be adapted to African needs. Much study and investigation is needed before we can know that, and in paragraph 42 of its report the group lists a number of subjects on which this study and investigation should be undertaken. Institutes of education and other centres of research and experiment are needed, to work out syllabuses and devise methods of teaching them in schools of different types, to study methods of teaching English, to study the objects of history teaching, to develop suitable systems of examinations—to take only some of the examples cited in the group's report.

The group's paper contains sections on language, literature, and libraries,¹ on which the conference made no comment. A large majority of the group, including all its African members, wants a more determined drive for English literacy in the primary school, not merely vernacular literacy. Literature and libraries (including school libraries), which everyone has always agreed are desirable, are in the group's view essential; they must be given higher priority.

The group regards better relations between the races as one of the signs that the educational system is producing educated citizens. With race-relations as with agriculture, the group places little reliance on class-room instruction. Good race-relations are a way of life that has to be lived, and the school can and must live in this way. If the school itself contains pupils of different races, so much the better.

¹ See paragraphs 10 to 13 of Group E's report, pages 178-9.

Failing this, pupils must be given opportunities of meeting and of co-operating with people of other races. This section of the report drew from one speaker the comment that more should be done to establish multi-racial schools; there are such schools, and there should be more of them.

The danger in repeating that everything depends on the teachers is that the educator may come to think there is nothing he can do until the newly trained teachers arrive. The conference therefore hailed with relief the last section of the group's report, which gives not only a list of subjects for study and investigation, but also a list of things which can be begun while the slow process of training teachers in new methods is under way. The group's chairman regarded this section as the most important part of his group's report; it contains enough material, he said, to give occupation for half a century to a much larger staff than the African institutes of education are likely to have. 'We believe', he continued, 'that the spirit of this conference, certainly the spirit of our discussions, and what we understand is the spirit of Africa, is that we cannot wait, that there are jobs to be done, and there are in fact things which could be done tomorrow which would begin to make a difference.'

Here is the text of Group D's final paper:

GROUP D ORGANIZATION AND THE CURRICULUM

INTRODUCTION

1. Education, in the words of the report of the West Africa study group, 'is the complex of actions and reactions between persons by which a nation prepares itself for its future by the dissemination of knowledge and skills and valid ideas of human dignity and fellowship'. The organization of the school system, the subjects in which instruction is given, and the way in which those subjects are taught, are important because they help to determine the extent to which education in any country fulfils the needs and responds to the hopes of its peoples. We have approached our task from this standpoint, and we have related our discussions at all points to the objectives of the educational system on which we are all agreed.

2. We are convinced that the many detailed problems of organization and curricula can only be worked out inside the various territories. There is no one simple answer to any of the questions, and uniformity of practice is neither practicable nor desirable. We have therefore confined ourselves to the consideration of principles, drawing together the experience of different countries, but resisting the temptation to say that one way of approach is better than another. On controversial issues we have attempted to set out, as positively as we could, the arguments for the differing proposals, but we do not attempt to suggest what the answer should be. Our aim has been to supply material which may be of some use to those who in Ibadan or Accra, Zomba or Kampala, have to make the decisions on policy and on method.

3. Throughout our report we have made but few references to the special problems of girls' education. The expansion and development of the education of girls is, in our opinion, a question of crucial importance for the well-

being of all the territories, but the question of how that expansion should be secured falls outside our terms of reference. We consider, however, that there are details of the curricula as applied to girls which need continuous study in the schools and in centres of educational research. In the main, all the objectives on which we are agreed apply to girls as much as to boys. The time at our disposal did not allow us to give to those details the consideration which we would have wished to give.

OBJECTIVES

4. How a school system is organized and what happens within the schools must clearly depend on the view taken of the objectives of educational policy. On these objectives we are in complete agreement. We find their source in the desire of Africans that their countries should play a worthy part among the nations of the world, in the intellectual no less than in the economic sphere, developing their own cultural contribution to the common heritage of mankind. These objectives, in essence, are the same for all stages of education, but we believe that it is of value to state them in more detail for each stage.

5. We believe that the particular objectives of the primary course are these:

- (1) the development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour;
- (2) an understanding of the community and of what is of value for its development, and of the contribution which the individual can make to the community;
- (3) the development of a lively curiosity leading to a desire for knowledge about the immediate environment and the world outside;
- (4) permanent literacy;
- (5) the acquisition of some skill of hand and the recognition of the value of manual work.

We have adopted the order in which these objectives are stated very deliberately as expressing the emphasis which we believe should determine both the form and content of a worth-while primary course.

6. Secondary education must carry on at a more mature level the pursuit of the same objectives as those of the primary course. But it has a further and specific purpose. From the secondary schools must come men and women who will be leaders, equipped with the skills the country needs and themselves persons of balanced judgement, aware of their environment and conscious of their responsibilities.

MORALS AND CHARACTER-TRAINING

7. We note that one of the most impressive points of correspondence between the reports of the two study groups is the emphasis given to the building up of moral leadership. We regard the statement in paragraph 23 of the Jeffery report as of such importance that we wish to quote it in full as an expression of our own convictions:

... The one who holds, whether by outward profession or by an inward and inarticulate knowing, that moral integrity, intellectual honesty, respect for persons, compassion, and courage are good in themselves and that their goodness is not contingent on circumstances of time or place—the one who holds these things firmly and discovers the way to express them in action will be a good neighbour, a good teacher, parent or citizen, and a good leader among his people.

But moral standards stem from, and can neither be accepted nor taught without a basis of, belief. In what the Binns report calls the 'Moral Crisis of Africa', belief, if it is to be effective, must be positively and firmly held. For many it will be belief in one of the historic religions, and where the parents wish the school to do so, it should give the best possible instruction in that religious belief. To teach about religion is not enough. It must be lived out in the whole life of the school community. Much can be done in the whole field of character-training by strengthening the ties between the school and the home by such means as parent-teacher associations, but in the last resort the moral atmosphere of a school is determined by what the teachers are, and it is in this field of moral and character-training that teaching as a profession faces its greatest opportunity.

8. A prerequisite is the acceptance by the community through its Government of the ideal that the spiritual and moral well-being of its children is of no less importance than their mental and physical development. On this issue, neither Governments nor individuals can be neutral. Our deliberations, like those of Group A, presuppose 'an education with a religious basis and a spiritual doctrine of human nature and destiny'.¹

9. Only teachers who can conscientiously give religious instruction should be asked to do so. The freedom of the teacher must on this point be jealously preserved. The teacher of religion should be trained for the purpose. To be effective religious instruction must be systematic and a properly constructed syllabus is essential. These considerations apply to 'multi-denominational' schools, and schools conducted by local authorities, no less than to schools conducted by voluntary agencies. The experience in the development and use of Agreed Syllabuses of Religious Instruction in county schools in England and Wales will be of value to the African territories.

10. We gave some thought to the problems of Muslim education and our Muslim members prepared a short report on this subject. We consider this to be of such importance that we attach it as an Appendix and commend it to the serious consideration of the territories. Recommendation 4 of this Appendix has, in our opinion, implications regarding Christian institutions which are at the same level as the Koran schools.

ORGANIZATION

11. In determining the most appropriate form of organization of its school system every territory has to balance three considerations which may at times be in apparent conflict. These are:

- (a) what is educationally desirable;
- (b) what the people of the country desire;
- (c) what is financially possible.

It is obvious that the differing circumstances of the various African territories must produce at any given time varying answers to the problems of school organization. We did not consider it our function to attempt to reach any conclusions on the most appropriate form of organization, even had this been possible. The wide variety of opinion within

the group on questions of detail reflected the variety of circumstances and reinforced our opinion, which we have stated above in paragraph 2, that every territory must work out its own salvation.

12. On the question of what is educationally desirable there is no difference between us, nor, in our judgement, between the authorities in the various territories. We hold fast to the objectives which we have set out in paragraphs 5 and 6; we all desire to see them achieved for as many children as possible and as soon as possible. The apparent opposition between the recommendations of the East Africa and West Africa study groups about the length of the various stages of education should not be allowed to obscure the real identity of purpose underlying both reports.

13. We suggest that there are some educational considerations which should not be ignored by any territory in deciding upon the organization required at any given time.

- (a) Any educational system must be alive and growing. Though, from time to time, the organization must be consolidated in a legislative form, that form is only a starting-point for further advance. In other words, if an educational system is really alive the education ordinances begin to grow out of date as soon as they are passed.
- (b) The age at which children complete the first stage of education should be such that those who leave school at that point will have had a course which is worth while and be themselves not unfitted to take their place in society. But for those children who can proceed to a further stage the break must come at the point when the difficult process of selection may be carried out with some degree of confidence (see paragraphs 22-26 below). Our tentative opinion is that these two factors point to the break being about the age of 12-13.
- (c) If the objectives for the first stage of education are accepted it follows that this stage cannot be regarded as complete unless it provides the children with something more than literacy and a certain body of knowledge and skills. If the circumstances of a territory make it necessary to curtail this stage to, say, four years the ideal should still be kept in mind and the acquisition of permanent literacy in one language be regarded as essential. The quality of the teaching staff has an important bearing on what can be achieved in any period of years.

14. Mr. H. C. Dent in *Change in English Education* refers to the necessity for educational policy to run 'with the grain' of public opinion. Our discussions and remarks made in the plenary session have shown that there are African views on the length of the first stage of education which are very strongly held and cannot be ignored. The general trend of African opinion seems to be that nothing less than a six-year course is acceptable. If, for any reason, some children cannot be given so long a course, it appears to us to be essential that parents should be convinced that the object of official policy is to provide at least five or six years' schooling at an early date. Further education of an informal type is quite essential if what has been achieved in the schools is not to be lost.

¹ See paragraph 2 in Group A's report, page 144, paragraph 14 in Group C's report, page 161; and paragraph 15 in Group E's report, page 179.

15. Financial considerations do not fall within our terms of reference, but we must record our conviction that if lack of financial resources is the cause of limitations in the length of the first stage of education, this should be made clear in every possible way in the hope that it may lead to an increase in local contributions to the cost of education.

16. *The Length of the Primary Course* The basic difference between the recommendations of the two study groups appears to us to be that the West Africa group thought in terms of ten years of education for a majority of the children and the East Africa group in terms of eight years of schooling for the majority. The actual terminology used has been a cause of some confusion of thought. the 'Middle School' in the Gold Coast sense belonged to the 'Secondary' type of education, whereas the 'Middle School' as advocated by the East Africa group lies between the primary and the secondary stages. The advantages of the two systems which were stated in our discussions can be summarized as follows.

(a) *Arguments in favour of ten years' schooling with a break after the sixth year*

- (i) Six years represents the minimum length of time for the first stage which is worth while in itself.
- (ii) A break at the age of 12-13 corresponds with physiological and psychological changes in the children
- (iii) Selection for the various forms of education in the second stage can be made with more confidence after six years of education.
- (iv) It has the practical advantage that, where resources are limited, a worth-while period of education can be made available for all children.

This system presupposes that the first stage will be followed by a second stage which will be selective and of more than one type.

(b) *Arguments in favour of eight years' schooling with a break after the fourth year*

- (i) Four years represent the irreducible minimum for a stage of education which is complete in itself, and which will enable children to achieve literacy in the vernacular, and, provided that further informal education and suitable reading-material are available, to retain it

(When this stage is for many children all the formal education they will receive, it is assumed that the age of entry might be raised for them, so that they do not leave school until they have attained some maturity)

- (ii) As resources permit the second stage can be expanded steadily until it becomes universal, and thus provides eight years of education for all children.
- (iii) The second stage, selective at the outset, would be a suitable preparation for further academic studies or for professional or technical training.
- (iv) This system makes it easier to achieve, at each phase of development, the balance between the claims of quantitative expansion and qualitative development, and to keep expansion in quantity on a sound educational basis.

- (v) This system can be flexible and thus kept in touch with the environmental character and needs of each area.

We are constrained to repeat what we have said previously, that we did not attempt to resolve the differences between our own members on this difficult question, and that we are firmly of the opinion that there is no single answer which would be universally applicable. But we would also state our conviction that the differences are differences of approach and not of principle, and that many of them are temporary and will disappear as the resources of the respective territories improve

17. *Types of Secondary Education.* It was agreed that, within a foreseeable period, secondary education in all territories must be on a selective basis. The need for the expansion of the educational system makes it imperative that the secondary schools should produce an adequate supply of suitable candidates for the teaching profession, and this paramount requirement should be kept in mind in organizing secondary education.

18. Secondary education takes various forms in different territories.

- (a) The secondary 'grammar' school, which exists in all territories
- (b) The 'middle' school, existing side by side with the secondary grammar school in the Gold Coast, Northern Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. The Gold Coast aims at providing a four-year course which has the dual object of providing an education which will prepare pupils for further training as teachers, or for commerce and industry, and, at the same time, a general education which will enable them to be useful members of their community.
- (c) The secondary 'technical' school, which exists in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. In Nigeria, a four-year course is provided, parallel to the secondary grammar school, but with a marked practical bias (engineering, commerce, building, printing). The standard in general subjects is equivalent to that of the School Certificate. The Gold Coast plans a five-year course, leading to an external examination, with emphasis on mathematics, science, and technical subjects.
- (d) The junior secondary school existing in East Africa with such territorial names as 'middle', 'intermediate', or 'junior secondary' differs from the middle school of West Africa in that for a minority it leads on to the senior secondary grammar school instead of being parallel with it. It leads also to departmental technical-training and teacher-training schools, and can be regarded as an end in itself.
- (e) The trade schools and some departmental schools, which in some East African territories are parallel to the junior secondary schools.
- (f) Some courses at the Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology are being designed for students who have not had any secondary education.

It is evident that there is a distinct difference between the practice in East and West Africa. This does not rise from different conceptions of the purpose of secondary education, but from the different organization of the earlier schooling. All these forms of secondary education should,

in our opinion, be regarded as continuing the general education of the pupils, though with varying degrees of professional or technical emphasis.

19. We discussed the question of concentrating more than one type of secondary education in a single institution. We felt that this might be necessary in areas where the population was insufficient for more than one school at the secondary level, or where resources of teaching staff and finance were limited. The value of concentrating several departmental schools in a single unit was stressed.

20. *Co-educational Secondary Schools.* We agree that for co-education to be successful boys and girls must share equally in all aspects of the school life, the staff itself must have a balanced proportion of men and women at all levels of work, and the girls should be not less than two-fifths of the total number of pupils. Our opinion in general is that co-education, provided that it is good, can play a vital part in the development of girls' education, particularly in giving at least to some of the more promising girls assurance and confidence. Where co-education as such is impossible a close relationship between girls' and boys' schools in social activities, in exchange of staff, and sharing in school facilities can be very valuable.

21. *Day Schools and Boarding Schools.* We feel that though boarding schools are expensive they are necessary until secondary education can be made available for large numbers of pupils. Boarding schools also have positive advantages in the opportunities they offer for character-training, for raising standards of living, and for bringing together pupils from different communities. Nevertheless, day secondary schools adequately staffed can, as experience shows, build up a valuable life of their own.

SELECTION

22. We consider selection to be of such great importance in the whole school system that it should be treated at some length. We are agreed that there are four main conditions which any process of selection should satisfy:

- (i) it should be reasonably accurate and should enable the most able pupils to be picked out, irrespective of the standard of efficiency of their teachers;
- (ii) it should not be unduly difficult or cumbersome to operate;
- (iii) as far as possible it should be harmless in its effect on the primary schools;
- (iv) it should not only be just but appear to be so. Every means should be used to gain the confidence of parents through parent-teacher associations. Possibly also district education committees should be associated with the process of selection, so that their members might carry some responsibility for the impartiality of the decisions made.

23. In regard to selection in general after the primary stage, we consider that there are three main ways in which information about each pupil can be obtained, and that ideally all three should be used:

- (i) from the primary school records;
- (ii) from interview with the candidate;
- (iii) from a written examination of some sort.

School records and interviews are significant mainly for borderline candidates and for pupils from less efficient schools.

24. *Pupils' Records.* What is looked for here is not so much a factual record of attainment but something which will provide some clue as to the pupil's abilities. In considering these records, it should be remembered that whilst the headmaster may know his pupils well, he will not always be aware of their comparative standards. Moreover, the keeping of such records is a matter of some difficulty which not all our present teachers are competent to undertake; individually they tend to be erratic in their marking, and—in certain circumstances—influenced by parental pressure which may tend to warp their honest opinions. Teachers, and teachers-in-training, should be well taught about proper methods of assessment, which will help to establish confidence between themselves and their pupils' parents. We recommend that institutes of education should take the problem as one of their points for investigation.

25. *Interview.* We are agreed that this is an essential part of the selection process. It is best that it should be carried out by a small committee composed of school staff and one or two persons from outside, and that this committee should remain the same throughout if at all possible, to maintain a consistent standard. In some territories it has been found profitable to combine an interview with an oral English test.

26. *Written Examination.* We consider this to be necessary, because although the headmaster's report may be taken as reliable, there should be some objective element in selection, and to all concerned—and, in particular, parents and pupils—an examination is something concrete.

In Great Britain experience in this matter indicates that such an examination should consist of not more than papers in English, Arithmetic, and an Intelligence Test. We do not consider it advisable to import into Africa tests used in England, and to place reliance on them before they have been tried and standardized in Africa; they should evolve in their proper educational climate, and this process will be slow. We deprecate the use of a General Knowledge paper because it encourages cramming of isolated facts, and in that way distorts the primary school work.

The English and Arithmetic papers should

- (a) be set on a minimum syllabus but marked stiffly. This method has proved to give a maximum spread of marks, and therefore a more accurate selection;
- (b) be capable of accurate marking, and as objective as possible;
- (c) be related to the stage of development of the children concerned;
- (d) be followed by a thorough post-mortem, which would indicate which questions in each paper have been most effective in the selection.

27. *Financial Considerations.* So long as fees are charged for secondary education, another form of selection will be operating—that of parental capacity to pay fees—unless adequate provision of bursaries can be made. We are strongly of the opinion that no able child should be excluded from the secondary school by reason of poverty.

THE SPREAD, BALANCE, AND EMPHASIS IN THE CURRICULA

28. Our second and third objectives stated in paragraph 5 have the implication that every course of education should enable people to lead the most complete lives in

their environment as it is and to improve that environment as quickly as possible. We believe that it must follow from this that the curricula of the schools must be broad in scope and balanced in the sense that no subject or group of subjects has undue predominance. In subsequent sections we make suggestions for the widening of the curricula particularly in the secondary schools. Nevertheless, in the conditions of the African territories, with their urgent need for development, it appears to us to be essential that the curricula should reflect the dominant requirements of the country as they exist from time to time, and from place to place. With rapidly increasing populations, food production must receive the attention of many of the pupils from all types of school. At the same time, as natural resources, sources of power, and communications develop, there will be a growing need for technical education and this must be foreseen and provided in advance.

29. We discussed at some length the various ways¹ in which the need for agricultural development might be met, i.e.

- (a) by making it a constituent subject in the curriculum at all levels;
- (b) by providing good demonstration farms and encouraging pupils to take an active share in the farm work, voluntarily;
- (c) by giving a more agricultural 'flavour' to the earlier years of schooling by grouping subjects or providing courses integrated round agriculture while retaining in the secondary school a wider science course as a basis for later specialization in agricultural or other applied science.

Some experience suggests that a curriculum with an increasingly practical emphasis can be an effective means of raising the academic standards in a secondary school. On the other hand, there is evidence that 'Agricultural Science' as a school subject can result in a decline of standards of scientific education.

30. We feel on the whole that the monetary reward of farming rather than an emphasis in school curricula will determine the future of agriculture. Some large fortunes have been made from farming in some parts of Africa, and the cocoa farmers in West Africa are enjoying great prosperity; nevertheless the vast majority of cultivators can hope for little more than bare subsistence. If mechanization of agriculture, possible on a co-operative basis, together with the improvement of marketing and distribution can make farming more stable and more rewarding then young men may be attracted to make it their life-work. Change there must be if Africa is to avoid starvation, and social changes in the life of African women who are devoting themselves more and more to improving the standards of child-care and home-life must inevitably throw far more responsibility on the men for the actual work of cultivation. We do not consider that we have been able to discuss this subject adequately, but our tentative opinions are that the alternatives (b) and (c) in the previous paragraph are most likely to yield results, that agriculture should receive much emphasis in informal education, and that some of the best-trained and ablest students may be led to choose an agricultural career if agricultural studies are developed to a high level in one or two secondary schools in an area.

¹ See also paragraphs 26 to 29 in Group B's report, page 155-6.

But little can be done in the schools until there is available an adequate number of teachers who have been trained at the various levels to teach 'Rural Studies' or 'Agricultural Science'. We are convinced that the broadening of the curricula will depend, in no small degree, upon the ability of the training colleges to produce the specialist teachers of various subjects who will be required.

CURRICULA IN THE PRIMARY STAGE

31. *Methods of Teaching.* We are in general agreement with the suggestion that the first need is a fresh and more realistic approach to the methods of teaching. The teachers concerned should endeavour to help children to develop at their own pace rather than force predetermined amounts of knowledge upon them. This approach, of which instances are to be found in all the territories already, and which sometimes carries the general label 'activity methods', should, in our opinion, gradually and increasingly become the normal approach to teaching in primary schools and indeed at all stages. Much investigation and experiment is required, and any widespread change depends upon a fresh and realistic approach to teacher-training. We are agreed that where the new approach exists in the infant stage, it very often ceases abruptly thereafter, and that these years of the primary stage call for special attention. For any successful extension of the method, we believe that the following obstacles must be removed:

- (i) a system of examinations, under which a child cannot be promoted from one class to another until it has shown by passing an examination that it has learnt the work appropriate to that class. Such a system cuts at the heart of the child's developing at its own pace by requiring some children to repeat classes;
- (ii) the cramping effect of syllabuses, particularly those which set out more than the average child can possibly achieve. We feel that the preparation of syllabuses is a highly expert task, in which institutes of education, training colleges, and teachers should be associated, and that all syllabuses should be tried and modified, if necessary, before introduction into the schools;
- (iii) class-rooms too small for any form of adequate activity and lack of the necessary simple equipment. (Though a class of no more than thirty was suggested as the ideal, we agree that the new approach is possible and preferable to formal class teaching with any size of class);
- (iv) the lack of members of training college staffs with knowledge of the new approach;
- (v) the lack of suitable reading material for use with a more individual method of teaching. This calls for more co-operation between territories and the literature bureaux.

We are in general agreement with the suggestions of the East Africa study group for the grouping of subjects in the first stage of the primary course, and we consider that environmental studies are of special importance.

32. *Language.*² We devoted much thought and discussion

² See also paragraph 12 in Group E's report, page 178.

to the difficult question of the language or languages in which literacy might be secured in the first years of primary education. The time available did not permit of an adequate consideration of the special problems of the various territories, and we can only set out here a few of the points which we felt to be important. In some areas, where there is no dominant vernacular, the choice may rest between teaching both a vernacular and English as foreign languages, or concentrating upon English alone: in Muslim territories the necessity for teaching Arabic for religious reasons will mean that children must learn both Arabic and a vernacular, with perhaps English as an additional language: in other areas it may be right to aim at permanent literacy in the vernacular with a working knowledge of English in addition. We wish to emphasize that where it is necessary to teach more than one language the burden upon the children and the demand on the time available for instruction will be heavy, and that enlightened teaching methods are essential. A large majority of our group, including all our African members, feels strongly that the teaching of English should have priority, and that, in the long run, this will not prove detrimental to the development of vernacular languages large enough to evolve a literature of their own. We are unanimous in our opinion that great attention must be paid to English in training colleges, and that the problem of teaching English as a foreign language should be studied in centres of educational research.

33. *The Middle School (East Africa)*. We wish to record our appreciation of the great contribution made by the East Africa study group by setting out so concretely the ways in which instruction might be given in middle schools. We note that the group regarded its proposals as being tentative only, and that it assumed much experiment before any general curriculum could be decided upon. Some of us think that the level of work suggested for the integrated course might be too advanced and that a warning should be given against relying upon agricultural studies in teaching scientific method. Our general feeling is that the proposals of the East Africa report for the curriculum of the middle school are of great interest, and the results of the work to be done in carrying them out will prove to be of great value to education in Africa as a whole.

CURRICULA IN THE SECONDARY STAGE

34. *External Examinations*. Although both study group reports were critical to some degree of the Cambridge School Certificate and its effect on the schools, our opinion is that external examinations are not undesirable in themselves, but that teachers and pupils allow them to colour their outlook unduly. We consider that the Cambridge Examination Syndicate has proved itself to be always willing to consider sympathetically any suggestions for the revision of syllabuses. Moreover, examining is a matter for experts, and the Cambridge examination is particularly valuable because of its consistency in maintaining and developing good standards in African education. All territories experience inconvenience from the inability of the Cambridge Syndicate to conduct overseas examinations at any other time than December. The suggestion was made that the Syndicate might be willing to approve syllabuses and moderate the papers and scripts for an examination set and marked in the African territories. The new West

Africa Examinations Council might be able to work out a development of this kind.

35. *Variety in the Curriculum*. We note the comparatively small number of overseas candidates taking practical and non-literary subjects in the School Certificate Examination. Although a small number of subjects offered for examination does not necessarily prove that other subjects are not taught in the schools, experience suggests that both lack of money for equipment and shortage of trained staff tend to make the curriculum too narrowly academic. To minimize the effect of the staffing difficulty, we suggest that territories should consider concentration of available resources in a few reasonably large centres rather than the development of more numerous small secondary schools.

36. *The Approach to Teaching*. We are agreed that in general a livelier and fresher approach to teaching is essential. The need for teachers in secondary schools who have both a sound background of academic education and adequate training is evident in all territories. New methods, such as the Dalton plan, may be impracticable because of the shortage of adequate libraries and the shortage of trained staff. We feel strongly that one of the tasks of the institutes of education should be to maintain, in co-operation with the teachers, constant investigation and experiment in methods of secondary school teaching.

37. *Details of Subjects*. The following opinions were expressed by members on the scope of certain subjects:

- (i) *English*. The School Certificate examination should include an oral test in English; since English is a most important subject, the standard must always be kept high. Special consideration should be given to the choice of books in the Literature papers, and the whole question of teaching of English should receive continuous study in the institutes of education.
- (ii) *History*. The main purpose in studying History is not to accumulate a mass of ill-digested facts, but to enable pupils to see their own country in its historical setting, to gain some sense of historical continuity, and to be better fitted to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship. Syllabuses tend to cover too much ground, and more thinking about the objects of History teaching is called for.
- (iii) *Science*. The proper aims of Science teaching in the secondary schools are not narrowly vocational but should include the stimulation of curiosity about the whole environment with a sound experimental approach to its satisfaction. The development of sound habits of thought will assist in dispelling local unsound conventions and superstitions.

38. *Sixth-form Work*. We consider that this is a very desirable development of secondary school work, as it is at this stage that qualities of leadership, responsibility, self-reliance, and powers of independent thought often appear. We realize that circumstances will entail its gradual establishment in successive stages, and considerable reliance—especially in girls' schools—on expatriate staff until university colleges are producing sufficient graduate teachers. The first stage might well be that certain schools must be selected for this development, and that not all types of sixth-form work can be expected in any one school. This will necessitate transfer of pupils in the post-School Certificate stage. Though the existence of a sixth

form has always a stimulating effect on the whole staff there is a danger which must be guarded against—that of sacrificing proper development up to the School Certificate stage to the premature development of sixth-form work.

OTHER QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

39. *Training in Race-relations.* We consider that the educational system will be failing to reach its objectives if it does not produce a better understanding between men and women of different races. This is of particular urgency in plural communities. We do not think that reliance should be placed upon formal teaching about race-relations. Proper attitudes are acquired almost unconsciously from association with teachers who themselves show in their lives goodwill towards other people. They are learnt by pupils in the process of living, working, and playing with pupils who belong to other communities. Boarding schools can do much within their own limits, and valuable lessons are learnt in multi-racial scout camps, &c., and through playing games against teams of other races. We suggest that the interracial principle already existing at Makerere and the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and in some secondary schools, should be extended wherever suitable opportunities occur.

40. *The Supply of Literature.*¹ We have been informed that literature bureaux and some commercial publishers are interested in producing books in vernacular languages, or in English suited to African needs. They must have a reasonable hope of sales, and therefore must know what are the general lines of policy, and the policy in regard to the use of English and of vernacular languages. We wish to suggest that the authorities in the territories should give early consideration to these points:

- (a) what subjects are to be taught in the schools, at what levels and by what methods;
- (b) the nature of the outline syllabuses in the subjects;
- (c) the range and use of vernaculars as educational media.

We suggest also that advice on syllabuses, and assistance in the work of authorship, should be sought from institutes of education and from training colleges.

41. *Libraries.*² We note with interest and approval the development in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar of a library service by the East African Literature Bureau. In Tanganyika it is being developed under the provincial administration; in the other territories development is directed by library advisory committees, representative of various bodies and of Government departments. Similar schemes exist in West Africa. We consider that the provision of adequate libraries in the training colleges and larger schools, of a library service for the smaller schools, and of libraries for teachers, should be given very serious attention in all territories.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

42. Throughout our report we have tried to emphasize the need for continuous study and investigation by teachers, training colleges, institutes of education, and administrators of the various problems which we have discussed. It is our conviction that without such study, on the field and

with the help of those most directly engaged in teaching, neither the methods of teaching, nor the content of the subjects taught can satisfy the needs of territories as they develop. Thus we have suggested investigation of the following topics:

- (i) the special problems of girls' education (para. 3);
- (ii) the nature of the syllabuses in Religious Instruction (para. 9);
- (iii) the problems of Muslim education (para. 10 and Appendix);
- (iv) the problems of selection and assessment (para. 24);
- (v) the fresh approach to teaching methods (para. 36);
- (vi) the content of the various subjects in the curricula (para. 40);
- (vii) the problems of teaching English as a foreign language (para. 32).

We urge therefore that there should be set up, as soon as possible, institutes of education as advocated in Recommendation 69 of the East Africa report, and supported by paragraph 24 of the report of the group on 'The Teaching Profession'.

43. In placing this emphasis on the need for study and research we do not imply that there should be no action until the results of such investigations are known. On the contrary we are unanimous in our belief that there are things which can be done immediately, which will help forward the development of African education, and which must not be delayed. These are:

- (a) The immediate strengthening of the teaching profession especially within the training colleges by
 - (i) the secondment of teachers, especially those skilled in 'activity' methods, to serve in one or more training colleges in a territory;
 - (ii) the secondment to service in institutions and authorities in the United Kingdom of expatriate staff from the territories;
 - (iii) the exchange of African and expatriate teachers and tutors with teachers and lecturers from the United Kingdom.
- (b) The exchange of advice between Africa and Great Britain in the ways suggested in Recommendation 70 of the East Africa report.
- (c) The introduction of new approaches to teaching in the training colleges, and especially in in-service training, wherever lecturers with the necessary experience are available.
- (d) The introduction of courses for specialist teachers in one or more training colleges in each territory so that staff will be available to plan and conduct the new types of courses especially in the middle schools in both East and West Africa.
- (e) The encouragement of the production of apparatus and equipment, and especially the supply of suitable reading-material, for use in connexion with new methods of approach to teaching.
- (f) The revision of the syllabuses, especially for the first stage of education, with the object of securing the steady and continuous progress of children up the school (see also para. 31).
- (g) The building-up of libraries in the training colleges, and in the larger schools, the provision of library

¹ See also paragraphs 10 and 11 in Group E's report, page 178.

² See also paragraph 13 in Group E's report, page 179.

facilities for smaller schools, and the development of libraries for teachers.

- (h) Ensuring that in the planning of all new schools, buildings and furniture should be such that modern methods of teaching can be used.

This list is not exhaustive, nor do we suppose that all these points of growth can be developed in every territory at the same time. Our concern is that some action should be taken without delay, and that the inspiration and stimulus which we ourselves, and, we believe, all members have derived from this conference should be carried back into the whole field of African education.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM EDUCATION

Today Muslims in the British Empire look two ways. They look to Mecca in the East and to London in the West, now increasingly so to the latter with which their destiny is tied up. There are in British Tropical Africa many millions of Muslims who would be prejudiced against education if no adequate provisions were made in the educational system for religious instruction. These Muslims look to the Koran for their spiritual uplift and moral guidance. Arabic is the medium through which they learn their religion. But it also opens up to them a vast field of culture. At present, except in a few places, the methods of teaching and the available teachers and textbooks are not satisfactory either in quality or quantity. To improve this situation:

(1) It is suggested that the teachers for Arabic and Islamics should receive proper training. It is felt that at present the experience of the Sudan in the training of such teachers will be of value to other territories.

(2) It is realized that the teaching of Arabic to non-Arabic-speaking peoples in Africa is a field in education which has not been tackled soundly. An exchange of information between the various territories engaged in the attempt is recommended. As Somaliland has had success so far it is suggested that information as to method and syllabus used in that country should be made available to other territories which have Muslim schools.

(3) It should be accepted by all Governments concerned that it is their special responsibility to ensure that Muslim boys and girls receive adequate instruction in Arabic and religion at all levels of school life, and that the two should be included in the curriculum.

(4) Wherever possible the existing Koran schools, provided that they teach secular subjects, as prescribed by the education department, should be linked up with the normal educational system under the education departments and should receive financial assistance.

(5) Scholarships should be awarded for the training of Islamic teachers abroad.

(6) In order to bring about understanding and co-operation between Muslims and non-Muslims for the general good of their countries' progress, a Chair of Islamics should be established in each of the growing universities of Africa.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

GROUP D: ORGANIZATION AND THE CURRICULUM

Group D put out an interim paper which was in effect a shorter version of paragraphs 1 to 8 of the paper here printed. Sixteen members of the conference took part in the full session discussion of this interim paper. Twelve of them were concerned principally with the length of the primary course.

Four speakers defended the basic four-year course as recommended in the Binns report. The following arguments were used: (a) East Africa needs as large a number as possible of responsible citizens quickly: four years for more children will be better than six years for fewer. (b) There is a higher proportion of trained teachers in East Africa than in West, so that a four-year course in East Africa will produce better results than in West. (c) There is more hope of persuading girls to finish a four-year course than a six-year. (d) Nobody proposes a four-year course as the ultimate aim; it is only the first stage towards an eight-year course for all. (e) We are nowhere near a four-year course for every child yet. Let us concentrate on getting that, and then talk about increasing it.

Six speakers took the opposite view, and maintained that six years should be the minimum. They argued as follows: (a) Vernacular literacy is not enough, and literacy in English requires at least six years. (b) Wastage is not as serious as the Binns report suggests; many children are already completing a six-year course. (c) A four-year course is not enough to give secure literacy, or to give sound character-training; it only fits a child for unskilled work. (d) The group's objective of stimulating curiosity could not be gained in less than six years. Five African speakers supported the six-year course; one supported the four-year.

The remaining speakers raised different points:

We could approach this question of the length of the primary course from a different angle if we considered the group's first objective: conduct and behaviour. How long would this need? Five years, I should think. And if so, what should be the best age-range? I think children should be at school from seven to twelve rather than from five to ten.

This question of the most suitable age for primary education is important also from the point of view of selecting children for post-primary education. It would be better to start with a primary course which ends at an age suitable for this selection, and when resources permit us to lengthen it, to lengthen it by starting earlier, not by finishing later. If, for example, we are compelled to begin with only a four-year course, let us begin with a course from eight to twelve, and later on extend it to a five-year and then a six-year course from seven to twelve, and then from six to twelve.

Wastage would be largely stopped if all children were promoted every year. Most of the wastage figures come about because children repeat classes.

Schools, both for African and for European children, should do much more than they now do to promote inter-racial harmony. We should give more thought to the question of interracial schools.

We must not confine our attention to the schools. Whether we are thinking of literacy, of standards of conduct, or any other objective of education, it is very important that other organizations should follow up the work of the schools. Youth organizations, for example, libraries and literature bureaux.

A good deal could be done in the matter of character-training by the unassisted Koranic schools. They are often very inefficient, but the mallams in charge of them do really

feel deeply on the matter of spiritual values and of character and conduct. If they could be given some professional help, they would do very good work indeed in this way.

When the group's final paper was discussed, twelve speakers took part, but each picked on his own point for comment, and there was no common thread.

I wish the group had discussed more what is financially possible. On the point of different types of secondary schools, we must see to it that the secondary-modern school is good in itself, not merely a cheap substitute for another kind of secondary school.

I am glad to see the statement on Muslim education, especially the points (a) that religious and secular education are inseparable, (b) that teacher-training is desirable even when teaching methods are based on long tradition, (c) that Muslim contribution to education should not be merely a matter of elementary Koranic instruction.

(a) I disagree with the proposals of paragraphs 164 to 176 in the Binns report on the subject of an 'integrated scheme of practical and theoretical work' in the middle and secondary schools with agriculture as the basis. You will get better results by having small demonstration gardens, and giving each pupil a plot of his own, the produce of which he can sell. African schoolchildren have plenty of exercise in cleaning the school and washing their own clothes. This extra drudgery would be too much for them. (b) In any case, the main responsibility for improving agriculture does not rest with the school. More can be done by improving agricultural credit and marketing. We want to diminish women's and children's labour, not perpetuate it. The people of England would not allow their schools to concentrate on the coal or textile industries in the way that these paragraphs of the Binns report propose that African schools should concentrate on agriculture.

It is important that research should be shared, as the group's report proposes in paragraph 42, between 'teachers, training colleges, institutes of education, and administrators', and not left, as it sometimes is, to the institutes of education alone. If research is thus shared, there is no need to assume, as paragraph 43 seems to assume, that research and action happen at different times. They can go forward together.

Everything that is said about the objectives and organization supports the arguments in favour of a six-year primary course. In paragraph 16 (b) (i) there is a parenthesis which assumes that, for the time being, children who intend to leave school after four years will enter it at a later age than the others. This is unrealistic; how are these children to be selected at the age of six or so?

I have two points. (a) It is clear that African and United Kingdom educationists have much to learn from each other, and I hope there will be much more contact between practising teachers from the United Kingdom and from Africa. (b) On the matter of selecting children for secondary schools, we must be ready to take a great deal of trouble in explaining ourselves to the public. Even in

England, parents often do not understand what we mean when we talk of abilities and aptitudes and of suitable education for different boys and girls. In Africa we shall run into great trouble unless we can explain it all convincingly.

I have three comments. (a) Paragraph 19 in the group's report alludes briefly to the problems of a tripartite system of secondary education. I hope the educational authorities in Africa will think out these problems with African needs in view, and not simply apply the English system blindly because it is the latest idea. (b) On the question of examinations, dealt with in paragraph 26, I hope we shall not set an examination which automatically shuts out the good pupil from a bad school. I am a little uneasy at the reference to the minimum syllabus in English and Arithmetic, which the chairman in introducing the paper described as common ground 'which any pupil from a decent school may be assumed to have covered'. There may be very good pupils who have not had a chance of covering it.

I should like to stress the last sentence in paragraph 38. This danger of sacrificing lower classes to the sixth form is a very real one.

The question of race-relationships is very important. The schools could do something here if we had multi-racial schools at all levels. I have one such school in mind, and I wish there were more of them.

(a) I wish to stress the opinion in paragraph 27 that 'no able child should be excluded from the secondary school by reason of poverty'. At present they very often are. Some scholarship selection boards are not all they might be. I have known cases of nepotism and corruption. I hope we shall be able to improve this part of our educational machinery. (b) I agree, too, with what is said about syllabuses in paragraph 31 (ii). Many syllabuses are too heavy. They ought to be prepared by teachers and by the training college staff, people who know what the children can do.

In paragraph 11 and elsewhere we are told that we must consider what the people desire. This applies also to the content of the curriculum. We may find, for example, that our well-meant efforts to impart a rural bias to the curriculum are wasted because the people do not want rural bias of the type we propose. We must consider not only what is technically possible and desirable, but what we can persuade people to support.

Paragraph 31 talks about a fresh approach to the methods of teaching, and lists some obstacles which hinder it. There is another obstacle which is not listed: namely, that a great many of our teachers for a long time to come will be under-educated, under-trained, and under-equipped for it. You can have bad teaching even with the best of buildings and equipment. And a good and sympathetic teacher can get good results even with old-fashioned methods. Could we not for some time get better results by training teachers how to make the best use of methods which they know, rather than making them take up methods which are quite new to them?

6. GROUP E: EDUCATION AND THE ADULT

The subject of Group E's discussions suffers from having too many names: mass education, adult education, fundamental education, community development. The names may not be all precisely equivalent, but there is at all events a large common field for them all. In the Binns report there is a chapter on adult education; in the Jeffery report the corresponding chapter is entitled 'Informal Education'. Group E adopted the name 'Informal Education', and began its report by defining the term. It is a topic which has received much attention in recent years. In old-established and well-developed societies the name 'adult education' has been long in use to describe the work performed by such bodies as the Workers' Educational Association or the university extra-mural departments in England. But in newer societies, especially in those where problems of distance and a scattered population, or differences of culture between different sections of the people are concerned, the need has been felt for some quicker means of raising the standard of life of a whole community; and this emphasis on speed has led to the adoption of newer names, corresponding to newer techniques.

The subject has been much studied since the publication of *Mass Education for African Society* in 1944. The Colonial Office devoted one of its summer conferences to the topic of 'The Stimulation of Initiative in African Society'. It has been officially stressed that all the administrative and technical officers of Colonial Governments must co-operate together, not merely in measures designed to raise the African people's standard of living in such matters as health, housing, agriculture, or co-operative activities, but also in measures designed to stimulate the African people to make efforts to raise their standard of living for themselves. The African Governments have appointed officers to organize and co-ordinate this work. In all African territories there are projects of different kinds in existence, some of which are 'associated projects' of Unesco. Emphasis has recently been laid on the importance of training both senior and junior Government officers and unofficial workers for these tasks. It is recognized that co-operation between official and unofficial agencies is just as important as between different Government departments. Churches, and the extra-mural departments of university colleges and of the colonial colleges of arts, science, and technology, are agencies whose work in this field must be of the greatest importance.

Thus oppressed with a subject which is agreed to be of vital importance, but which covers a very varied field of activity, and has not yet had time to develop its own orthodoxies, the group made no attempt to write a treatise. Having defined informal education, the group asks two main questions: how important is informal education compared with other branches of education, and who should be mainly responsible for organizing and controlling it? The conference discussion followed the same lines.

The group divides informal education into three main heads: two concerned with the acquisition of literacy and the further education of the literate, the third concerned with the promotion of better living among the illiterate. There was general agreement that the main responsibility

for the first two heads must rest with the education authorities. On the third, neither the group nor the rest of the conference could reach agreement. A strong minority within the group thought that this too should be a matter for the education authorities. The majority, however, preferred to entrust it to other agencies, such as the administration itself, the voluntary agencies, or the local authorities. In any case, whoever is responsible for administering the work of informal education under this head, the essential thing, in the view of the majority of the group, is to have a senior officer at the centre to co-ordinate the work of all these agencies and to co-ordinate also the training of workers in informal education. Of the nine members of the conference who discussed this point in full session, four were for the education authorities, four for some alternative, and the ninth wished to get away from departmental control altogether. Whoever is responsible for controlling the work of informal education, voluntary agencies, as well as Government departments, must take part in carrying it on. This is made clear in paragraph 254 of the Binns report, though the group hesitates to accept all the implications of that paragraph.

On the question of the importance of informal education, the group makes an important pronouncement which was endorsed by the conference. It is one of striking significance when made by professional educators:

'At least for the short term, there should be a quite novel concentration of energy and resources upon the tasks of informal education.'

This was certainly the most revolutionary sentence spoken during the conference. If education departments all over Africa acted upon it, and concentrated for the time being upon adult and informal education rather than upon schools, the educational pattern of Africa would soon look very different, and incidentally the efficiency of the schools would be greatly increased. In the discussion of the report, eight speakers (seven of them being African) explicitly endorsed this proposal. No one opposed it.

In discussing the method of informal education, the group had time to do no more than pick out five topics for discussion and emphasis: women's education, literacy, language, libraries, and the training of workers for informal education. One of the first priorities in community development should be to stimulate the women themselves to take part, and plans for this must be drawn up by women and carried out by women. Literacy is good in itself, and literacy campaigns must form part of all community development work. Literacy is strengthened when allied with definite purposes in life; and so, when people have become literate, their new literacy must be seized on to help them in other aspects of education. Language problems vary from one territory to another, but each territory should have a practical and impartial committee to advise those in charge of schools and those in charge of informal or adult education. Libraries must be developed as a means of encouraging the habit of using books. And, 'some means must be found of accelerating the output of men and women able to keep up the momentum of community development at the lowest levels'.

Save on the question of the controlling responsibility, no disagreement was expressed in the discussion. Thirty-nine speakers took part. Nine discussed who should be responsible for informal education, and eight emphasized its importance. Eleven speakers laid emphasis on one aspect or another of informal education: discussion groups, women's part in informal education, co-operative societies, radio and the press, scouting, and the place of literacy. Four speakers stressed the importance of obtaining voluntary helpers. Twelve speakers raised miscellaneous points, such as the importance of urban areas, the work of the Churches, the possibilities of correspondence courses, and the importance of training the workers in informal education. It was a lively discussion, and it was clear that the conference regarded informal education as vitally important. Schools act slowly, informal education may produce much quicker results; and it is this hope of speed which the conference regarded as one of the great attractions of informal education.

Here is Group E's final paper:

GROUP E

EDUCATION AND THE ADULT

1. The term 'Informal Education' is used to describe all the educational influences which are not within the formal organization of an educational system, whether they are brought to bear on schoolchildren, or on children, young persons, or adults who have left school or have never been to school at all. This quite comprehensive clientele must determine the scope of activities that are assumed to fall properly under the term. For the purposes of this paper, three main kinds of activity are envisaged:

- (i) Systematic educational activities designed to further the education of the literate or nearly literate members of the community.
- (ii) Effort designed to make those persons literate who have not had or will not have schooling.
- (iii) Community development designed to promote better living for the whole community, placing great emphasis on the stimulation of popular initiative and on the methods by which those in authority, whether African or European, seek to secure the active participation of the people in the whole business of raising living standards and of preparing them for responsibility in the conduct of their affairs at every level.

2. The subject clearly has a vital place in any study of the crucial issues facing those concerned with the future development of African education. Even in a system of universal primary education it would be unrealistic to study professional and administrative problems as if that system had a purpose complete in itself. Where the system touches only a part of the people this proposition is even more evident. Whatever the quality of the schooling provided it cannot but produce a sharp break in society between the educated and the uneducated, and it cannot, because of the present scale of effort, contribute significantly in the short term to the task of preparing the great mass of the people for their civic responsibilities. We conclude therefore that, at least for the short term, there

should be a quite novel concentration of energy and resources upon the tasks of informal education.

3. Such a reorientation of effort can only be brought about by a deliberate act of policy, obviously at the political level. Such a shift of policy might perhaps, though by no means necessarily, be reflected by some rearrangement of the administrative machine, but it certainly should have as its object the increase and proper co-ordination of the efforts of all the many agencies, Government and non-government, at work or likely to work in the informal educational field.

ORGANIZATION

4. The position of the education department needs first to be considered. It is tempting to conclude from the above that a magnification of the function of the scope and purpose of that department provides the solution to the problem. The logic of this is clear from the all-embracing concept of the term 'Education', but a majority of us think that in practice it is possible to go only some way in that direction. Where it is not already the case categories (i) and (ii) in paragraph 1 above should be the concern of education departments specially equipped for the purpose; but the majority of us have reservations about category (iii). As regards category (iii), the field of community development, most of us consider that, although the movement demands processes which are primarily educational, there is danger in transferring responsibility for it to the education department. What we are most anxious to avoid is the setting up of a new 'authority' calculated to confuse Government and people alike. What is needed at the centre is, in our view, a senior officer capable of co-ordinating the extension work of existing departments and capable also of co-ordinating training needs. Chief among the 'other authorities' we have in mind are the administration itself, the voluntary agencies, but above all the developing local authorities. On the other hand, a few members of the group would like to see central responsibility for community development falling on the education department specially expanded and conceived for the purpose.

5. In the demarcation of responsibilities within the Government machine we must not ignore the place of the University and Colonial Colleges. We see three main fields in which these institutions should play a dominant role. First, the Extra-Mural Departments should be responsible for conducting classes in, we suggest, Political Science and Economics, in Public Administration and, possibly, in the principles of leadership and training in Trade Unionism; secondly, they should maintain close liaison with the work of Rural Training Centres mentioned below and similar organizations where they exist; and thirdly, the Colonial Colleges could well take a leading part in studying problems arising out of literacy teaching and in the research into problems arising out of social change.

6. In addition there is a further point which derives from the great need we see, quite apart from the question of departmental machinery, of ensuring a continued drive from the top to keep up the momentum of informal educational activity. We believe that there would be the greatest value in drawing together the various agencies engaged in adult education, in the normally understood sense of the term, in a national Council for Adult Education, and we believe that the initiative in such a move

should come from Extra-Mural Departments. Such a body, primarily advisory in the first instance, would keep needs in this field under review, would be a clearing-house for information and, more specifically, would give advice to the public on such matters as correspondence courses. It should do much to encourage and develop the spontaneous movements springing up and the very process of co-ordinating the present sporadic activity should do much to secure a greater concentration of effort.

7. In drawing attention to these institutions which lie outside the Government orbit, our main purpose has been to emphasize the importance of the kind of educational activity we have had in mind emanating from truly academic and objective sources.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

8. In pressing for a realistic appreciation of the place of informal education in the national educational scheme of things and in demarcating the general responsibility for various branches of the subject we think that the conference will have performed its main task in relation to this subject. We cannot produce a blue-print of action. We do suggest, however, that in the field of action there are three main issues of great importance:

- (i) The informal education of women and girls.
- (ii) Literacy teaching and the supply of literature.
- (iii) Training.

9. *Women and Girls.* We feel that for too long many areas have paid only lip-service to this fundamental question in the past. We see no point in adding to the great amount of literature that has been written on the subject or in attempting to make the all-too-familiar diagnosis of the situation. As we see it the basic needs are to secure a strong representation of the woman's point of view at the policy level with adequate staff to ensure that decisions are implemented and to ensure that in all community development work an important part of the effort is devoted to producing and training leaders among women, to establishing direct contact with the homes in the villages, and to enlisting the support of conservative elements among both men and women in women's work. The mere strengthening of the establishment of women officers will not meet the basic need. There must be a realization by the people themselves of the importance of women playing their full part alongside men in the development of the community. The inducement of that realization should be one of the first objectives of community development. We believe that there is much ignorance of isolated pockets of effort in this direction, and we accordingly suggest that there should be periodical meetings of women who at the field level are known to be engaged in special experiments in women's work. An exchange of information among such practitioners, but in a place where effective action can be taken on conclusions reached, would be of the greatest value. On the training side we consider that the most profitable line is to train cadres of leaders at local centres, and that they should be trained not only in the various subjects but with the specific object of being able themselves to train and lead in their own localities. So far as European staff are concerned we should like to see not only the significant strengthening at the departmental level we have mentioned but also a much greater effort to preserve continuity of service in the districts. Finally, we think it

necessary that, while the first attack may be on securing greater educational progress among women and a higher standard of living in the homes, the importance of raising girls and women to a level where they can effectively take part in public life should continuously be borne in mind.¹

10. *Literacy and Literature.* Again, we do not wish to add to the wealth of descriptive and analytical material on this subject. We would like to enlist the support of the conference for the view that literacy is good in itself. It is a stimulation of the mind and it is essential to communication. Its development is weakened where there is not enough suitable literature, and strengthened where literacy is allied with definite purposes in life. This principle is controversial, and controversy appears in its sharpest form when questions are asked about the priority of literacy in community development campaigns.

11. There are certain further points we wish to stress. Firstly, the permanence of literacy is not secured by the mere production of books or other aids. Books must be read and used, and this demands that there should be educational activity among the people. Adults and adolescents should come together in some organized way to ensure that there is some purpose in the follow-up of the work of the schools. Secondly, in some areas, there is a lamentable failure among field workers to use literature relevant to their work in the districts. Some administrative means must be found of putting this right. Thirdly, where the supply of books has had to be limited for financial reasons and the demand is still unsatisfied, we believe there to be a strong case for Government subsidy. Finally, we consider that placing the responsibility for literacy from a policy point of view squarely on the department of education should do much to ensure a co-ordinated approach in conjunction with the producing agents in the various problems of supply and distribution that arise. On the general question, we feel that the clue to accelerated progress is the development in every territory or region of an organized bookselling trade on a commercial basis. This raises two important points on training. There is a clear need to conduct courses, of the type organized at Kabete, for African booksellers. There is also a need to give those concerned in literacy and community development work an insight into the value of books in their work, and indeed training in the use of them.²

12. *Language.* We recognize that every territory has its own language policy, at least in schools. We have taken note of the Binns report on the question, and we think that our most profitable conclusion is not to suggest another answer or set of answers, but rather to suggest that there is a strong case for bringing together a body in each territory which is charged to keep in touch with experiments inside and outside the territory, and to supply objective advice to the Department of Education. We think this body should be associated with the Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology. It should not take part in the linguistic and political controversies which from time to time arise in connexion with the use of languages in education and in literature. The important thing is that language policy in informal education should keep in step with that in the schools.³

¹ See also paragraphs 10 to 12 in Group C's report, page 161.

² See also paragraph 40 in Group D's report, page 173.

³ See also paragraph 32 in Group D's report, page 171.

13. *Libraries.* One of the weaknesses we detect in the present situation is lack of desire to use libraries. Ways of stimulating the desire are to be found in increasing the efficiency of the library service itself: good cataloguing, maintaining a continued flow of new books—that sort of thing—and (which is more important) ensuring that the library is situated in a live place where educational and social activities are possible. We see value in creating the service in schools and colleges, and we particularly have in mind the place of the 'extra special' training college which is mentioned in Group C's report. We agree that training and the status of library staff are important, and again we see in the Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology a place where this sort of training could properly be done. One suggestion was made that a university extra-mural department could provide some sort of entrée for its reading public to the university and other college libraries. Finally, we acknowledge the work of the British Council in developing libraries in Africa.

14. *Training.* We have noted the view of the Secretary of State that it is in the sphere of training, both central and local, that immediate and further thought on community development should be concentrated. We believe that the production of staff, particularly those capable of serving local governments, skilled not only in the subject-matter but in teaching methods, must be accelerated. The language situation will be an important factor determining the training organization required, but even where language presents no problem and thus makes it practical to provide combined training organizations feeding the whole country, we consider that there must be a devolution to the districts of the kind of rural training centre envisaged in the Gold Coast. In this connexion we emphasize the need to remember the training needs of non-Government agencies and to encourage the co-operation of all such agencies in training schemes. The essential point we wish to make is one of time-factor. Some means must be found of accelerating the output of men and women able to keep up the momentum of community development at the lowest levels.

15. On the general question of personnel we have noted the suggestion in paragraph 254 of the Binns report. We doubt whether there is a clear-cut case for a dramatic change in policy on the part of the missions as affecting the 'bush' schools, but we believe that more could be done on both sides to encourage and co-ordinate the work they are already doing in the field of informal education, through association with training schemes as above and through their participation at the advisory level in national and regional planning. We emphasize the particular contribution they make as regards women and girls.

CONCLUSION

16. In our discussion of this group-subject we have not lost sight, when we have talked of 'direction' or 'planning' or the work of this or that department, of the fundamental purposes underlying policy in Africa as it is now manifest in the community development movement. We hope there will grow up societies of men and women enjoying the best that a home can offer and the best that life around them can offer. That best will only come through the personal efforts of the men and women themselves, but those efforts will only be made with the development of the sense of

participation in and responsibility for the many ramifications of a developing society. Therefore the whole business of developing a fully comprehensive educational system cannot be considered in isolation from the development of central and local institutions of government. Nevertheless, wherever the responsibility for government lies, or will lie, a failure to comprehend that the school is only part of the whole, whatever the state of development, will betoken a dangerous falling off in the exercise of that responsibility.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

GROUP E: EDUCATION AND THE ADULT

The group presented an interim paper and a final paper, the interim paper being absorbed into the final. There were thus two discussions; seventeen speakers took part in the first, and twenty-two in the second. This record summarizes both discussions.

Eight speakers supported the idea that informal education should receive a high priority:

It is an urgent matter in my territory because we have so few children in school, and we have such a dead weight of ignorance to contend with among the adult population.

And in my country we have the problem of the great influx of workers into new industries. These people cannot be influenced by schools, and unless we bring some educational influence to bear on them we shall risk nothing less than the disintegration of society.

Education depends on co-operation between the school and the home. If the parents have little realization of what the schools are doing, the schools and the children will suffer. Informal education can thus help the schools themselves.

We have heard a good deal in this conference about children who do not finish the primary school course. Informal or adult education can do something to help them when they have left school. And I agree with the second speaker that we simply must somehow get hold of the industrial population that is developing in Africa, otherwise the results will be disastrous.

The influence of tradition is tremendously strong. Schoolchildren can do little against it. And it will do the people no good to have the new influence of the schools and the old influence of tradition blindly opposed to one another. Adult education is the only hope of bringing about a reconciliation.

The other speakers supported these arguments but added no others.

Who should be responsible for controlling informal education, apart from literacy work, for community development among the illiterate? Some speakers thought this also should be the responsibility of the education department, others thought not. In favour of the education department:

It is administratively unsound that one aspect of education should be separately directed from the others. We already have overlapping: educational authorities undertake work which should, on this arrangement, be left to the community development authorities, and they in turn undertake work which is strictly educational. This

overlapping is bound to continue. The education department is the obvious authority to co-ordinate all the work; but of course it will need to be strengthened for the purpose, and it will have to realize that informal education has to be taken seriously, and must not be subordinated to the need for more schools.

In my experience, people who are not educationists often fail in informal education, which after all does need to be carried on by someone who understands educational processes. The education department has the people who are best fitted to do this job.

Whoever is officially responsible, the effective driving force must come from local government bodies. I agree that the education department is the best authority to exercise this official control, but it will have to secure the close co-operation of the local government bodies if it is to produce results.

I agree that it is the education department that has the people who are best fitted for this work. In my country the education department has nothing to do with it, and the work might be better done if it had.

Against the education department:

I am not strongly opposed to the idea that the education department should bear this responsibility, but I do think that the field will need to be more precisely defined than it is. Take health education, for example: if the education department were to take charge of that, its activities would be unduly enlarged.

In my country we have already shared the responsibility in the way suggested in the group's report, heads (i) and (ii) in paragraph 1 being assigned to the education department, and head (iii) to a Community Development Officer. This seems satisfactory.

The important thing is that the informal education work carried on by all departments should be properly co-ordinated. This co-ordination cannot well be done by an officer from any one of the departments concerned; so I favour the creation of some such post as Commissioner for Community Development to carry out this function.

I agree. I am a Director of Education, and I have experienced the value of co-operating with a colleague in charge of informal education who is not a professional educationist. A Director of Education has quite enough to do in looking after his schools and the first two heads in paragraph 1 of this group's paper. Further, I know that there is sometimes friction between people in charge of formal education and people in charge of informal. There would be more of such friction if they were members of the same department, competing for promotion in the education service. It is much better to have a separate service in charge of community development (other than literacy work) among the illiterate.

I think we should get away from the question of who is administratively responsible. The great value of community development is that it gives the African, even in the smallest unit of society, a chance of organizing himself and of carrying out his own plans for betterment. It infuses some meaning and purpose into local government institutions. Most administrative officers would probably

agree that their real worry over local government is that the man in the rural village is still as far away from his local government as he is from the central Government. Community development ties up local government from beneath with local government that is at the moment imposed from a higher level. When those two meet, community development as such can efface itself. I agree that the education department must be closely associated with community development. But community development must aim at effacing itself, and you do not need departmental control at all; what you need is a system of community development whereby the development teams are owned by the people in the area.

Emphasizing different aspects:

One speaker stressed the importance of discussion in African society, literate or illiterate; it is one of the most effective methods of teaching, and it is a mistake to think that it can only be used with literates. Four speakers urged the importance of getting the co-operation of women. One said that in the plural society of East and Central Africa, European women had a great opportunity of doing effective work to help their African sisters. The press, radio, scouting were methods of informal education whose value was emphasized. Other speakers mentioned the value of training people in co-operative methods, and the importance of gaining the active support of local government bodies.

There was some discussion on the place of literacy in community development:

I do not think literacy is essential to the concept of adult education. I have known a crowd of 300 villagers attend to discuss agricultural matters, but when the instructors turned from agriculture to literacy, the crowd quickly dwindled to three people. Those people did not desire literacy. It is all very well teaching people of twenty to thirty reading and writing, but not older people. Old people have a great deal to contribute, even if they cannot read; and if you concentrate too much on literacy, the old people feel that their contribution is being ignored.

I am glad we are not over-emphasizing literacy. Some people seem to think that literacy and sanitation will be the cure for all the evils in the world. Let us have literacy by all means, but side by side with other kinds of education. Training for leadership, or rather, training for service, for example, such as is effectively carried out by Church organizations when they make their members assume responsibility and work together for the good of the Church.

I regard literacy as a most important element in this kind of education. We have found in my country that literacy makes people more articulate politically; when they become literate, people begin to shoulder their responsibilities. There is no doubt that the people themselves value literacy; I have known cases where a man who could read and write was elected to political office out of respect for his powers, in preference to the traditional head, who was illiterate. We must regretfully admit that sometimes literate people use their gift to cheat the illiterate. The only remedy for that is to make everybody able to read.

And I have found that an adult literacy campaign brings more children into the schools. Parents who have them-

selves learnt to read appreciate more the value of schooling for their children.

I agree that literacy is important; but it is important as a means to an end, and if we want people to desire literacy, we must make it clear to them what are the objects of literacy. We must start from their needs, as they themselves feel them. I have known a woman, who had previously shown no interest in reading awake to a desire for it through seeing a friend doing complicated knitting with the aid of a knitting-book. The desire will come when people see that reading has some real value.

They will see this better if we take care to supply plenty of reading-matter to follow up our adult education work of other kinds. A great deal of good work in adult education loses its effect because there is no proper follow-up work.

Four speakers touched on the need for obtaining voluntary helpers; adult education will fail if it is left entirely to a full-time paid staff:

I want to emphasize the part which should be played in this work by voluntary helpers. There is a danger of a cleavage developing between educated and uneducated Africans. I have known cases where highly educated Africans have drawn a sharp distinction between themselves and the ordinary African back in the bush or the shamba. There was recently an article in *The Times Educational Supplement* which made the same point, that there is not as much keenness as there should be among educated Africans to help their less fortunate countrymen. This has to be changed, or else there will be a disaster.

I agree. In England, a great deal of social service is done on a voluntary basis, and there is a tradition in the English public schools that their boys should take part in such work. I wish we could establish the same tradition in African secondary schools. And I wish we could get more helpers from outside the teaching profession. This sort of thing is left too much to the teachers.

A great deal could be done to get women helpers. There is plenty of willingness to help among European women living in East and Central Africa; but many of them are diffident because they do not quite know how to set about it. We are trying to overcome this. Several voluntary organizations in this country have told us what help they can offer to women working in Africa, and we are now passing on this information, so that women who want to engage in some form of social work will be put in touch with people who have experience of the same sort of thing.

I agree very much that we must not rely entirely upon teachers. For twenty-six years I have been trying to recruit scouters for forty-nine Scout troops, and in all that time I have only got ten who were not teachers. The teachers are splendid, but other people ought to help.

Finally, a number of speakers raised special points:

We have spoken of the need for speed. If we want quick results, we must go for vernacular literacy, not English.

But the trouble there, is, that except in the case of a few of the biggest languages, you will soon run out of vernacular reading-matter, and then your literates will relapse into illiteracy. It will be quickest in the long run to get as quickly as you can into English literacy.

That is true. Many promising literacy projects fail because they run out of vernacular reading-matter. Where there is a quite insufficient supply of vernacular reading-matter, I would not waste energy on trying to produce it. I would use visual aids to teach my ideas, and concentrate on literacy in English. I am sure it can be done.

We must see that both urban and rural areas are covered by informal education schemes.

Let us not forget the voluntary agencies in all this. The Churches run a great variety of educational activities: Sunday schools, marriage-training centres, and others. They were started by European missionaries, but they are carried on nowadays by African workers. There is an organization here which could be very useful in other forms of adult education.

I agree that the Churches have a great deal to contribute here. One advantage of adult education, or informal education for adolescents, is that it will do something to remedy the waste of money that occurs through children leaving the schools too soon to get any real benefit from them. The multi-racial societies present a special problem, which is insoluble without informal education of this kind; and it must be directed to the needs of all races, not of Africans alone.

I think that good correspondence courses could serve a very useful purpose in this kind of adult education, and I hope that the African university institutions will develop them.

I think that although informal education is designed for children as well as for adolescents and adults, the children should be kept separate.

We must somehow get informal education carried on through the co-operation of technical people of different kinds. The days of the one-man team, the Jeanes teacher, are over, and we now have in my country the development teams and the development area school, in which the members of these teams, who are already trained in their own technical lines, now come together to learn how they can effectively co-operate. For this reason, I do not think we need any special community development authority; if community development is not carried on through willing inter-departmental co-operation, the appointment of a controlling authority will not make it a success. Let the education department deal with those who are already literate, and run literacy classes for the illiterates, but community development in the broadest sense needs no controlling authority.

I wish to underline paragraphs 14 and 15 in the group's paper, about training. Training is essential. There is plenty of good informal education going on here and there in Africa, but the workers are isolated from one another, and the work depends far too much on individuals, and can collapse if individuals are taken away. We must have arrangements for training: not only for enabling technicians to co-operate, but for enabling workers in the field to see each other's work, to compare notes, and to pool their ideas. Teams must be trained to go out into the villages to spread the work still farther. Training of this kind will secure continuity in the work, which is at present so precarious.

7. EPILOGUE BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

Education as it is discussed in any educational conference today is necessarily and unavoidably concerned with matters of organization, of machinery, of regulations, of its institutions, and of finance. That this should be the case is inevitable. Failure to deal with these aspects of the educational problem adequately has an important and lasting effect upon the outcome of all educational effort. None of these things is, however, education; they are but the means of achieving whatever the educational process is intended to be. Education is and moves according to ideas and inspiration, and according to faiths whether formalized or merely implicit, and unless education remains first and foremost a movement—and indeed a spiritual movement—all its mechanics and its machinery are inert and lifeless.

The chief purpose of this conference has obviously been in the field of human relations. Education, however, efficiently organized, however well administered, and however thorough the methods of instruction may be, fails of its whole genius and purpose unless it is based upon the relations between individuals, between individuals and groups, and between groups and larger collections of men and women which we call nations, countries, or individual societies. In any venture of this kind it is the current of human feeling which is the real measure of anything of permanent and lasting educational effect which may be taking place. No formal record in print can possibly reproduce the atmosphere which pervaded the conference. In session and out, in the gardens and at receptions, old friendships were renewed and new ones made. No one who attended the conference could have left the conference without a deep impression of a community of purpose. As regards the discussions themselves, all I can do is to congratulate those who took part upon the spontaneity, good feeling, forbearance, and occasional frivolity which were displayed. If all else had failed, the fact that this extremely various group could not only meet for a common purpose, but also live together in close community for a fortnight, and find itself at once sorry to disperse and delighted to go home and get on with the job, is proof that some measure of success was achieved.

To that there is a moral which may here legitimately be pointed: a man who thinks alone is solitary and his thoughts have no increase; a man who thinks in company thinks in a fertile manner, and all his thoughts have increase, not only in his own mind, but also in the minds of others. Co-operative deliberation is a most productive undertaking. This conference was an exercise in co-operative intellectual and rational activity. If it could be followed by other meetings of a similar kind in each of the territories, or in groups of territories, the progress of African affairs would be powerfully assisted. If such consequent meetings are to be successful, it is fair to suggest that they should follow somewhat the same technique which proved of value at Cambridge. Discussion which is founded upon research and inquiry as preliminaries is the more valuable and constructive on that account. Inquiry is the activity by which a conscientious man obtains the facts which he will not do without. Research is the activity by which, starting from

what is known, intellect and determination are applied with the highest amount of skill to extend the frontiers, not only of knowledge, but also of discrimination and judgement. Both are essential to well-informed and constructive discussion.

In human affairs, every so often in the long history of mankind, some new movement is initiated. In the history of African Colonial territories such a new movement has, in fact, begun. It is new because local aspirations, in some cases gradually and in others quickly, are reaching fulfilment, and yet in other cases have already been fulfilled and Africans are in the saddle and have their hand on the bridle. Responsibility and control are in transition from faithful and distinguished service officials to responsible Ministers. The obligations and responsibilities which that places upon Ministers and officials are challenging and grave. There is here an opportunity of writing a new page in the story of human achievement. From what I was able to see and feel during the course of the conference, this opportunity is going to be taken, and it is going to light a new torch to illumine the path of humanity. There is, of course, a sense of urgency in these matters which is present to some degree in all of us, and urgency is in fact and of necessity a part of modern life and living. Opportunities present themselves, which granted a reasonable degree of self-abnegation, can be taken. The history of mankind shows many examples of opportunities that have been missed because to accept them was difficult, and the risks not to be ignored. There are possibilities of educational progress in Africa which constitute such an opportunity, and it is one which must not be missed because of the very real risk that the results of our actions may fall short of our hopes and expectations.

As has previously been said, this conference was only a phase, although it was a critical phase, in a much longer process. Earlier phases included the visits and discussions in East, Central, and West African territories, which resulted in the Binns and Jeffery reports. These reports outline in general and in detail what needs to be urgently considered about education in Africa. It was not possible within a short fortnight for all the proposals in these most valuable documents to receive due consideration. Much still needs to be done which it would have been outside the scope of the Cambridge conference to attempt. There are, for instance, important matters of detail set out in full with specific recommendations; there are also matters affecting particular territories, and many other points which could not usefully engage the attention of a conference representative of so many territories. The deliberations of the conference, however, proved beyond doubt that on the five great themes which were followed up in Cambridge there is a fund of goodwill, enthusiasm, and agreement on many issues of quite fundamental importance, which augurs well for substantial progress in many directions in the immediate future. If anyone is tempted to say that in the whole of this volume there is nothing novel and nothing new either about education or education in Africa, let him pause and think again. The assembly in one room of so many and various representatives of so many territories, all

of whom brought contributions to a common pool from the considerable resources of educational experience in British Africa, was as new as it was inspiring. It was not only a symbol of much that has been achieved by so many organizations and persons in widely varying circumstances, but also evidence of the existence of a powerful educational movement in British Africa which has gathered considerable momentum. Although it was a conference of educational experts, an impressive element in all the discussions which took place was a profound realization that, without educational advance, progress towards prosperity and full participation in the modern world for British Africa cannot be achieved. While it was always remembered that education in widest commonality spread is fundamental to social and economic development, there was also a recognition of the price which must inevitably be paid in money and in self-discipline to ensure that expansion is on sound lines, and in accordance with the best standards which can in widely varying circumstances be achieved. There was something impressive, also, in the reaffirmation by the whole conference of the need for education to be based upon religion, and in the thought given by the various groups to the translation of what can be merely pious platitudes on this subject into effective action at the various levels of educational work.

My only regret about the conference is that no printed record of its deliberations can possibly reproduce for others the experience which those present at it found inspiring and enjoyable. The enthusiasm and friendliness will, I hope, be supplied by the reader, for the record of the conference has much of value to anyone whose interest in education is sincere. It will, I hope, reach a wide public in Africa, in the United Kingdom, and in other countries in the world in which a great human and spiritual movement, in which there have already been notable achievements, is thought to be of value and importance. To readers in this country I would say that we could ourselves with great advantage recapture some of the faith and conviction about the importance of education, which is so

evident in Africa. If, being so moved, we find ourselves capable of assisting Africans, and, indeed, all who have made their home in British tropical Africa, to build for themselves an educational system of their own fashioning, we can feel assured that we shall gain from giving a helping hand at least as much as we shall give.

The next phase which ought to succeed the Cambridge conference must inevitably take place in Africa. It is in the territories themselves that policies must be framed, their cost calculated and provided for, and the understanding and co-operation of organizations and people sought and secured. When financial resources are limited the difficulties must inevitably be great, but it was clear from the discussions at Cambridge that there is a great deal which needs to be achieved soon, and much that can be undertaken at once, provided that the co-operation of all the elements concerned, so apparent when these matters were under discussion, continues to be available when and where discussion and deliberation give place to action. The progress towards a comprehensive system of education is inevitably more organic than mechanical. Higher and advanced education for some and literacy and fundamental education for all are not in competition with each other, but are rather like the obverse and reverse sides of the same coin. It is never possible in educational affairs for everything to be done at once, or for equal advances in many different directions to be made at the same time. There is, and must be, in all educational developments a strategy which must ever be responsive to changing circumstances, which educational advance itself helps to bring about. The determination from time to time of the strategy which is to be followed calls for the greatest amount of breadth of view, tolerance, and mutual accommodation, and success is dependent upon the extent to which these qualities are available. The success of the conference at Cambridge cannot now be assessed; its measure will in due course be what peoples and the Governments of British territories in Africa, partly because of it, find themselves able to decide upon and carry into effect.

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